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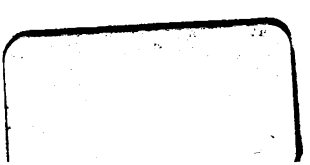

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MEMOIRS

OF

FATHER RIPA,

DURING

THIRTEEN YEARS' RESIDENCE AT THE COURT OF PEKING
IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPEROR OF CHINA;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHINESE AT NAPLES.

SELECTED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

By FORTUNATO PRANDI.

NEW EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages are a condensation of the most interesting portions of Father Ripa's 'History of the Chinese College,' published at Naples in 1832, in three volumes octavo. For any amusement or instruction that the reader may derive from their perusal, he will be indebted to Sir Woodbine Parish. But for him, Father Ripa's work, like those of several other modern Italian historians, of far greater merit, would never, perhaps, have been known in this country. Sir Woodbine Parish had himself intended to publish it in English, connected with the map of Peking, which he obtained at the Chinese College at Naples. Other more important avocations having prevented him from executing his intention, the task has fallen to the share of the actual translator. The original title has not been retained, because the present abridgment is more intended to give the passages relating to China, than those concerning the institution to which the Italian work is especially devoted.

It may perhaps not be uninteresting to the English reader to know that it was from Father Ripa's foundation that Lord Macartney obtained two interpreters for his embassy.

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FATHER RIPA'S

RESIDENCE AT THE COURT OF PEKING.

CHAPTER I.

Early Life—An Impressive Sermon—Duty of a Confessor—Resolution to enter the Church — Mysterious Vision — Order to proceed to China — Departure for Rome—Sojourn in the Ecclesiastical College.

In the year 1700, as I was strolling one day about the streets of Naples in search of amusement, I came to the open space before the Viceregal Palace just at the moment when a Franciscan friar, mounted on a bench, began to address the people. I was only eighteen; but though so young, I was then leading a life which I could scarcely describe without shocking the reader. Amid all my vices, however, it was fortunate for me that I always listened with pleasure to religious discourses, not indeed with a view to derive any profit or instruction from them, but merely out of curiosity. The preacher took for his text these words of the prophet Amos, "For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof;" and he proved that there were a certain number of sins which God would forgive, but that beyond that number there is no salvation for any one. From the proofs he passed to the morality of the doctrine, and here he brought in the beautiful illustration of the scales, which, when equally balanced, the smallest addition will weigh down. "Thus," said the worthy father, "if when our sins are equal to our counterpoise we commit one more offence, the beam on which our lot is weighed will turn and fix our eternal perdition; and as we do not know when our scales are balanced, if we transgress at the risk of such a punishment, we deserve condemnation."

This was not to me a mere figurative illustration, it was a gleam of heavenly light by which I perceived the dangerous path I was treading; and methought I saw God himself menacing me from above, while below the torments of hell lay ready to receive me. On recovering from the horror I felt at the sight of the danger to which I had so long thoughtlessly exposed myself, I ardently thanked the Almighty for thus recalling me to Himself, and full of repentance, I resolved to devote the remainder of my life entirely to his service. When the Franciscan had finished his impressive sermon, to strengthen my purpose I proceeded at once to the church of the great apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, which was close by; and there, having found a Jesuit, who, by the will of God, was preaching on the same subject in the presence of the Host, I had the most favourable opportunity of fulfilling my object.

At dusk I returned home, and as I began to consider how I might best serve God, I felt inspired with a desire not only to enter the Church, but to do something more than this, though in spite of unceasing meditations I was unable to discover what. I thought of entering several religious orders, but none came up to my aspirations. I imagined that I should find peace in the performance of the duties of a secular priest; but this did not satisfy the cravings of my heart: as one who is hungry, after eating a moderate portion of delicate food, still longs for something more. This *something more* was, however, exactly what I could not discover; but by degrees I conceived a strong wish to found a new community of regular priests, although I was far from comprehending the character of such an institution. I said nothing of this to any confessor, because I was so ignorant in religious matters, that I did not know that even in the path of virtue it is necessary to have a guide. In this state of ignorance I lived for eight months, now confessing to one priest and now to another, without ever meeting with any one who took any pains to direct my way. A fault, by the bye, for which those confessors who merely listen to sinners without endeavouring to point out to them the vocation for which they are fitted, will have to account to God. Fortunately, however, I made the acquaintance of Don Niccolo Vinaccia, who recommended me to read the *Filotea* of St. François de Sales, by which I per-

ceived the necessity of having a spiritual guide; and on the 10th of May, 1701, at the suggestion of Don Niccolo, I confessed for the first time to Father Antonio Torres, of the Order of the Pious Labourers, to whom I avowed my desire to enter the Church, and implored his advice. This benevolent man, as was his custom, had held me clasped in his arms; but on hearing my prayer, he suddenly drew back, opening his arms, and fixed his eyes on me for some time without uttering a word. Then embracing me again with transport, but without asking any question, as confessors are wont to do in order to ascertain the vocation of their penitents, he exclaimed, "Yes, my son; take holy orders, and henceforward I will be your father in God;" and happy has it been for me that he has been my spiritual director ever since.

With the approbation of this holy father, I entered the Church on the 26th of the same month; and having been enrolled in the congregation of the Holy Mary of Purity, I began the duties of active life, doing my best to promote the salvation of those around me. But I felt all the time that I was called to something else, and my desire to institute a new religious community became more and more strong. To the glory of God, for it is our duty to acknowledge his wonderful works, I must relate what then befell me with reference to this institution.

In consequence of indisposition, I was obliged to go with another young priest, who was very ill, to the Montagnola for change of air. We remained there about six months. My companion was an excellent young man, and as I devoted some attention to my spiritual improvement, I may venture to say that, thanks to his good example, my time was piously spent. One day, as my friend was at prayers in his room, and I in mine, I was seized with an ardent desire to retire to some place where I might acquire the knowledge necessary to an ecclesiastic, when all at once a clear and audible voice thrilled through my soul, saying, "to Rome."

I was struck with awe; and whilst, absorbed in thought, I wondered at the mysterious sound, a motley multitude of things floated before my mind, not in corporeal or spiritual forms, but in a purely intellectual manner which I cannot describe. It was then impressed upon my mind that the institution I was so

anxious to establish was to consist of secular priests, wholly re moved from worldly cares, and exclusively devoted to prayer, study, and preaching; and that in order that nothing migh divert them from these pursuits, another class of ecclesiastics like the Pious Labourers, should minister to their tempora wants. That, as to dress, those of the first class should wear habit different from that of any other religious community; wit no hood or cap on their head, but with some other covering not with shoes or sandals, but shod in another fashion. Thi vision was short, but it made such an impression on my mind that although it took place more than thirty years ago, I re member it as distinctly as if it had happened but yesterday.

On the completion of my twenty-third year, by the expres command of Father Torres, I repaired to Salerno to be ordained The day before my departure, when I went to take leave of him he bade me on my return begin my novitiate as Pious Labourer and although I answered that I felt no inclination to such vocation, he insisted on my obeying him unreservedly. I there fore conformed to his will; but whilst, as I journeyed on, m mind dwelt on my being thus obliged to become a Pious La bourer, though I had the greatest veneration for that religiou order, I felt so sad and depressed, that I could scarcely walk However, being determined to obey Father Torres, I waite upon him as soon as I came back to Naples, and requested a order of admission to my novitiate. He had returned fro Rome only the day before, and was surrounded by a number o his penitents. The moment he saw me, he said, "Good mornin to you, good man; prepare for China."

I was surprised, and wondered what he could mean; for I ha never heard any thing about China. Perceiving this, Fathe Torres added, that China was a nation of idolaters, who, fro want of labourers in the Gospel, lived in the darkness o heathenism; that Clement XI., the reigning Pope, with a vie to remedy this evil, had recently attached to the Propaganda college for the instruction of European ecclesiastics in th Chinese language, that they might carry the light of the Hol Gospel to those benighted heathens, and that accordingly h Holiness had commanded him to send some of his penitents t Rome for that purpose.

As Father Torres spake these words, the mist which filled my mind vanished, and I now, greatly to my wonder, perceived that this was the very service to which God had called me. When we were left alone, I asked him whether he had spoken in jest or in earnest, as in the latter case I would go to China willingly. "Whether you will or not, to China you shall go," he replied.

"How then can I pass my novitiate with you, if I am to enter the college at Rome in order to go to China?" said I.

At first he did not understand me, for he had forgotten that he had ordered me to become a Pious Labourer; but after I had reminded him of this, he answered, "Pious Labourer! Pious Labourer! God has destined you for the Chinese mission."

This made me perfectly happy; and I walked home so elevated in spirit, that I scarcely felt the ground I trod on.

On the 26th of November, 1705, I set out for Rome with Don Gennaro Amodei, a Calabrian priest, who also had been proposed by Father Torres for the Chinese mission. We reached our destination on the 30th, and were kindly received by our superiors, and by the Pope, to whom they presented us. Our apartments in the Propaganda not being yet ready, we took up our quarters at an inn; but as it is not decorous for ecclesiastics to dwell in places of this description, and moreover, as we had no money to pay the landlord, we resolved to seek refuge in the Ecclesiastical College, erected by Innocent XII. for the purpose of rescuing houseless priests from the dangers of lodging-houses. We still however had to pay about twenty shillings a month for our board and lodging; and as we had nothing towards making up this sum but the five pence a-day we got for the mass, I was obliged, with great shame and reluctance, to ask alms in order to provide the remainder.

That I might reduce my expenses as much as possible, I mended my own clothes, washed my only shirt at night, and even slept on a mat; owing to which I have been dreadfully tormented with rheumatism ever since. In this distress we petitioned his holiness for some assistance, and he allowed us ten shillings a month, which was just enough to meet our wants. Being aware how important it is to lead a methodical life, during our stay in the Ecclesiastical College we apportioned different hours of the day for study, prayer, and all other occupations;

and in the evening, after a rigid self-examination, we confessed to one another, Don Amodei kneeling before me, accusing himself of his faults and temptations, and kissing my feet; and I afterwards going through the same holy duty with him. Don Amodei was a most excellent and pious young man, gifted with every virtue, and distinguished by a purity of mind which he guarded with the greatest solicitude; but unfortunately he sometimes allowed his religious zeal to carry him too far, insisting, in spite of his very delicate constitution, in living on bread and water, and subjecting himself to all sorts of mortifications.

CHAPTER II.

Pilgrimage to Loreto—Roman Police—Inhospitable Monks—St. Chiara's Heart—Return to Rome—Mission to Capradosso—Vendetta—Extraordinary Reconciliation.

ONE day about this time, as we were praying before the Host, beseeching God to grant that our apartments in the Propaganda might soon be ready, we were both inspired with a fervent desire to go on a pilgrimage to Loreto, for the purpose of imploring the favour of the Holy Virgin. After obtaining the permission of our superiors, and the benediction of the Pope, we set out on our journey.

The first day of our pilgrimage, as we approached Castel Gandolfo singing canticles, at which Don Amodei was very expert, a gentleman on horseback overtook us, and being edified at our behaviour, pressed us to make use of his horse. On our resolutely declining the offer, he insisted that we should at least stop at his house. We did so, and he gave us a sumptuous supper and comfortable accommodation.

We were not so fortunate the next evening at Civita Castellana, in the hospital destined for pilgrims, where we could obtain no supper, and had to sleep on a paillasse, without sheets or blankets.

At another place on the road, of which I have forgotten the name, we entered a shop to buy some food; and whilst we waited to be served, we saw a man cautiously open a closet, and place two pistols in it, unobserved by the master. Shortly afterwards some constables came in, went straight to the closet, took out the pistols, and arrested the cheesemonger on the pretence of his keeping prohibited arms. The poor fellow repeatedly protested his innocence, but to no purpose. They handcuffed him, and took him to prison. Having witnessed the transaction, we immediately offered, in the presence of the constables, to give evidence in behalf of the prisoner, but they took no heed of what

we said. Our words, however, had more weight with the prelate who governed the place, and the injured man was released, whereupon he came, with all his family, to thank us for having, by the interposition of God, saved him from such imminent danger.

At the beginning of our pilgrimage we walked about twenty miles a-day; but as Don Amodei grew weaker and weaker, and was in a state of constant fever, we spent forty days in a journey which otherwise might have been completed in less than a fortnight. Besides his baggage and my own, I was often obliged to support him, hanging by my neck, for considerable distances, especially up-hill. At last he became so faint, that in a wood near Rieti he dropped to the ground, saying that he could no longer continue his journey, although we were on level ground, and only two miles from a place of rest. My distress may be easily conceived, and I was under the necessity of leaving him alone whilst I went for assistance. Not far from the spot I found a cottage, but the moment I knocked at the door I was surrounded by dogs, who growled and barked at me with great fury; and a peasant who was close by, taking me for a thief, also assailed me with stones and abuse. I had the greatest difficulty in persuading him that I was no thief, but a priest who came to implore his aid in behalf of a dying man. At last I succeeded, and he came with a donkey to convey my friend to a convent, on arriving at the gate of which we had to ring the bell for half an hour before any one appeared. A monk then came out in a rage, and exclaiming, "Oh! it is you, is it, who have been ringing so much?" he banged the door in our face.

We were thunderstruck at such treatment; and while consulting what we should do, the wretch of a monk again opened the door, giving us, in an unglazed plate, a few drops of vinegar, with two pieces of bread, so black that I had never seen the like. On my saying that we were provided with victuals, but implored shelter, he interrupted me with saying, "You may take it, if you please;" and again slamming the door in our faces, he disappeared.

We then went into the church of the convent to recommend ourselves to God, and await in prayer some effect of his divine providence. Fortunately some very humane and devout ladies

came in, who, seeing the exhausted state of my companion, began to talk with us, expressing deep compassion, and asked why we did not go into the convent for refreshment and repose. Whilst I answered their questions, there appeared in the presbytery a friar with a candle in his hand, whom those ladies pointed out to us as the Father Guardian of the convent. I immediately went up to him, and begged him to grant us shelter for the night; but the moment he perceived me he ran away, as though I had been the Evil One, without paying the least attention to my words. Shortly afterwards, however, the same monk who had treated us so roughly at the door came to take us to a cell on the ground-floor, where he gave us a miserable supper. On our telling him that we had some food in our wallet, and that we only wanted a light by which to read our prayers, he reprimanded us severely for our supposed neglect in having delayed the performance of our duty to God until it was so late.

We had not yet recovered from our mortification when it pleased God to comfort us by sending to our cell a page and a servant from the ladies who had spoken to us, bringing with them an excellent supper. Immediately after our meal I went to thank our benefactresses for their charity; and I found them under the porch of the church, seated at a sumptuous table, making good cheer with the father guardian and some other friars of his order. The next morning before our departure, we were desirous of expressing our gratitude to his reverence for the hospitality he had granted us, but although we searched about the convent for a long time, we could not find either him or any of his friars.

After suffering many hardships, which I will not stop to detail, we at last arrived at Loreto, where we visited the Holy House and various other sanctuaries. Among these, that of Montefalco deserves particular notice; for it contains the corpse of St. Chiara in such a state of preservation that her hands and face are as fresh and ruddy as though she were alive. We adored her heart, which was cut open, and in which, with great astonishment, we observed, in bas-relief, the implements of the passion of our Lord, and our Lord himself on the cross. I must not omit to say, that whilst I lay under a rock, awaiting my turn for reading mass in the chapel where St. Francis of Assisi re-

ceived from God the remission of his sins, a large serpent fell from above close to my face, but immediately crawled away without doing me any harm.

On our return to Rome, after a pilgrimage of forty days, Don Amodei, being more dead than alive, went into the infirmary of the Ecclesiastical College; and after a severe illness, the physicians sent him to Naples to recover his health.

Being left alone in Rome, I applied myself assiduously to the study of moral theology; and at Lent, after passing the examination required, I was sent to preach at Capradosso. Among various edifying cases which I witnessed in the course of my mission, the following shows how God, in his ineffable goodness, was pleased, by means of my youthful ardour, to compose a deadly feud which distracted a whole family:—

An old man of that place, with six of his sons, had for several years sought the life of a relative who had murdered his seventh son. Neither the exhortations of several ecclesiastics nor the authority of Cardinal Barberini and other distinguished personages who had interposed, had been sufficient to reconcile them. The unfortunate murderer wandered day and night about the mountains and forests to escape from his pursuers. Various persons informed me of this circumstance, and solicited me to do my utmost to pacify the family. The fugitive himself, accompanied by several of his friends, all in arms, came down from the mountains under cover of the night, to entreat me to the same effect.

I waited till Easter, when I knew that his uncle and cousins would come to confession. The latter did, one after the other, come to my feet, and I exhorted them to peace. They all replied that they bore no hatred in their hearts to the assassin, and that they were ready to forgive him, if the permission of their father, in whose power they were, could be obtained. Last of all, the father came to confession; and after I had admonished him at great length, he told me that he did not entertain any resentment against his nephew, but that he wished justice to take its course. I at once understood his object in this subterfuge, and therefore commanded him to repeat the Lord's Prayer, which he did, not suspecting my intentions. When he came to the words, "And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that

trespass against us," I desired him to explain their force and meaning; whereupon, by the Divine grace, he burst into a flood of tears. Having recovered his composure, he promised to pardon and embrace his nephew, for the love of Jesus Christ, the first time he should meet him. As, however, I feared that his resolution might be a transient ebullition rather than a holy purpose, I sent secretly to the fugitive nephew, directing him to conceal himself in the belfry on a certain evening, when I intended to preach upon the subject of love to our enemies, and if in the course of the sermon I should call him, fearlessly to come forward, accompanied by the rector and his other friends.

By the divine assistance, my efforts were crowned with the happiest results. At about dusk, when I had finished my sermon upon love to our enemies, at which all the injured family were present, I intimated that the women might go home in peace, and that the men only should remain to do penance. I then caused the door of the church to be locked, and in a short discourse I exhorted them to self-castigation. After this, the crucifix, as I had previously arranged, was brought out of the sacristy, and borne between two lighted torches. At the same time I repeated the most cogent arguments which I had used in my sermon, and urged the congregation to put in practice what they had heard, pardoning each other, and embracing in sign of peace. Many who had been at variance then came and embraced each other at my feet. Such was the emotion and the fervour of the congregation that they were all in tears. Perceiving among them the uncle of the assassin, I called him by name, and he immediately came and threw himself at my feet. I asked him in the presence of all whether he really forgave his nephew, and he replied in a deliberate tone that he did. I inquired if he promised this in the name of Jesus Christ, whose image he then held in his hand; and he answered in the affirmative. I made him repeat this several times in a loud voice. Then I blessed him, his family, and all his concerns, in the name of our Lord, for the great satisfaction he gave to God, and to all the court of Heaven, by granting pardon, for the love of Christ, to the man by whom he had been injured; and finally I asked him, if at that moment his culpable nephew were on his knees to ask forgiveness, for the love of Christ, how he would act? He re-

plied that he would gladly take him to his heart. I then made the signal agreed upon, and the offender was conducted by the rector into my presence. As soon as he was seen approaching, the sobbing of the people increased. The old man was greatly surprised at this, for he stood with his back to the entrance, and did not see his nephew, who, however, the next moment fell at his feet, craving pardon, for the love of Christ. At first the old man stood motionless, struck with surprise. He seemed bewildered by the extraordinary scene, and knew not what to do. I endeavoured to calm him; and, with the crucifix in my hand, I reiterated my arguments to induce him to forgiveness, till, urged by the grace that was working in him, he suddenly embraced his nephew, kissed and pardoned him, and gave him his benediction. His example was instantly followed by his sons, who, one after the other, sobbing and weeping, embraced their cousin, while all the congregation, bathed in tears, blessed and praised God.

CHAPTER III.

Departure for China—The Pope's farewell Gifts—Scene at Bologna—Awful Visitation at Brixen—Detention at Cologne—Disguise—Arrival in London—English Women—Drawing Lots for a Saint.

SHORTLY after my return to Rome the rector of the Ecclesiastical College died, and I was appointed to succeed him. A few months after I had entered upon my new office the Pope received the joyful intelligence that M. de Tournon, whom he had sent to China as apostolical commissioner, had been graciously welcomed by the Emperor; upon which his Holiness resolved to send him the cardinal's hat by some missionaries. He therefore appointed Dr. Funari, who was the parish-priest of San Giovanni de Fiorentini, in Rome; Father Fabri Bonjour, an Augustine friar of Toulouse; Father Ceru, of the Chierici Minori of Lucca; Father Perrone, of the Order of the Mother of God; my humble self, then a secular priest from Evoli, in the diocesis of Salerno; and a gentleman of the name of Guarmani, who was to accompany us as a surgeon.

Don Amodei, who was also a secular priest, was not included in the list, in consequence of his being absent and in ill health; but the moment I informed him of this, he sent to Cardinal Sacripante, the president of the Propaganda, a letter written with more tears than ink, and so eloquently expressed that the Pope—who, as well as the Cardinal, was greatly moved by it—immediately directed him to join us. Upon his arrival, we were all admitted to kiss the Pope's foot and to receive his paternal benediction. After having solemnly exhorted us zealously to fulfil our divine mission, his Holiness gave to each of us a silver medal, with the indulgence *in articulo mortis*. He granted us also the faculty of gaining plenary indulgence every month; the favour of a privileged altar once a-week; the right of blessing five thousand medals, crucifixes, or rosaries, with the usual indulgences; the privilege of confessing to one another during our voyage;

the power of giving plenary indulgences *in articulo mortis*, not attached to a crucifix, which might be lost, but to our own persons; and, lastly, the authority of deciding by majority of votes all questions and doubts that might arise during our journey. The cardinal's hat and the instructions of the secretary of state were intrusted to Dr. Funari, with the injunction, that in the event of his being prevented from fulfilling his mission, they should be confided to the next senior member of the mission.

On the 13th of October we set out for London, in the hope of obtaining our passage in one of the East India Company's ships. At Bologna we went to the residence of a personage of great distinction, and presented to him some letters of introduction written in the name of his Holiness by the secretary of state: this individual, after reading the letters, asked, with ill-dissembled reluctance, what sort of assistance we wanted; and Dr. Funari gave him to understand that some alms to defray the expenses of our mission would be gratefully received. At the mere word alms he flew into a passion, and, in a manner not at all becoming his station, loaded us with abuse, and drove us out of the room as if we were impostors. I firmly remonstrated against this treatment, asserted our respectability, and assured him that we had only followed our instructions, as he must have perceived by the letters; and that we should immediately report to our superiors the treatment we had received. We had scarcely returned to our inn before he sent us twenty sequins (about seven pounds), with a message that he was fully satisfied as to our respectability, and that we need not write to Rome.

From Bologna we went, through Mantua, to the famous city of Trent, where I heard for the first time the sound of the German language. Advancing farther, across the lofty mountains of the Tyrol, we came to Egra, a small town in which they use glass windows which do not open, and live in rooms lined with boards and warmed with stoves. The next day we arrived at Bolzano, where they bury their dead outside the church, in the open air, fixing at the head of the grave a wooden cross, on which hangs a vessel of holy water. Two days after this we reached Brixen: here, whilst celebrating mass in the church of the Capuchins, Dr. Funari was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and, to the great consternation and grief of us all, fell flat to the ground.

In consequence of this awful visitation he was obliged to return to Italy, leaving the cardinal's hat and the accompanying papers in the care of Father Fabri Bonjour.

On the 15th of November we arrived at Inspruck, a small but beautiful town, containing, among other curious things, some bronze tombs, which are very remarkable. We then proceeded to Metvolt, and thence to Augsburg, which we reached on the 19th, and where for the first time in my life I saw a priestess, or wife of one of their Protestant ministers. The next morning we started for Frankfort, where we arrived in safety, after seven days' journey. The houses which we saw on the road are built without foundations, the lower part of the walls consisting of stones and mortar, while the remainder of the building is a compound of mud and straw, held together by beams with small pieces of wood woven between them. The church steeples are built in the shape of round pyramids with very sharp taper points, the lower part being in brick or stone work, the upper in wood.

From Frankfort we went by water to Cologne; and here we received letters from the secretary of state, informing us that, as the ship which was about to leave London for China could not take us all on board, his holiness commanded Amodei and me to go back to Rome. But as we heard at the same time that this alleged deficiency of accommodation was a pretence, and that, in reality, our recall had been caused by the calumnious reports of one of our companions, we determined to vindicate our conduct, and await at Cologne for further orders. It is impossible to conceive how miserable I felt on being thus excluded from the mission which I had joined with such ardent joy. My nights were perfectly sleepless; during the day I did nothing but weep, and was often obliged, whilst dining with my friends, to quit the table and retire to my room to give vent to my grief. Fortunately, Dr. Funari, whom divine providence, in its inscrutable designs, had separated from us so unexpectedly, arrived at Rome most opportunely, and defended our cause.

Having, in consequence of his representations, received permission to continue our journey, we disguised ourselves as laymen, and on the 23rd of December left Cologne for the Hague. Here we found our companions, who, having been discovered to

be missionaries, were refused passports for England by the English ambassador. By the assistance of the Bishop of Munster, to whom we were recommended by the Pope, Father Perrone, Amodei, and I succeeded in obtaining passports under assumed names; and, on the 3rd of January, 1708, we sailed from Rotterdam for England. On the 7th we arrived safely in London; and the next morning we hastened to wait upon Signor Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador, who received us with the greatest kindness. Without losing any time, we went with Father Perrone and a gentleman of the embassy to solicit the East India Company for a passage to China in one of their ships; but, as it was strictly prohibited to take out any ecclesiastics, the Ambassador sent to inform the Company that we were going to enter the service of the Emperor of China—Don Amodei as a mathematician, I as a painter, and Father Perrone as our servant. It was indeed amusing to see Father Perrone standing before us two, hat in hand, showing us all the marks of respect which servants are wont to pay their masters. The directors, however, being wary men, did not appear satisfied with this account, and said they could believe that Amodei and I were laymen, but not Father Perrone. His peculiar carriage and behaviour, his eyes cast down, his hands continually in his sleeves, and other signs, induced them to think that he must be an ecclesiastic. They then asked the gentleman of the embassy whether Perrone was a Jesuit, and on his answering that he was ready to swear to the contrary, they granted us permission to sail in one of their ships, which bore the name of Donegal, and was bound for Bengal.

After we had thus obtained our passage, our three companions, Fabri, Ceru, and Guarmani, who had joined us from Holland, in like manner presented their petitions; but, in spite of the interest of the ambassador, they were several times rejected. Meanwhile Guarmani refused to proceed, on the pretence that he was ill; and the ambassador, having submitted that permission was required for only two more, leave was at length granted.

While we waited for the day on which the Donegal was appointed to sail, the news arrived that King James (the Pretender), brother to the reigning Queen Anne, had left France, with fifteen ships of war, for the purpose of recovering the king-

dom of Scotland, from which his father, James the Second, had been forced to fly on account of his religion, and to seek refuge in France. Queen Anne immediately gave orders that no English vessel should go out of port, under a heavy penalty; and that all Catholics then in the capital should be put in confinement. Under these circumstances, the Ambassador desired us to lose no time in going on board our vessel, as we had previously obtained the passport, as well as the Queen's permission, and that of the Company.

On the 11th of February we were hastily conveyed in a small boat to the Donegal, which was lying at anchor in the river Thames, at about twenty miles' distance. The Donegal was only of 180 tons burden, and the berths were all full, there being only the number required for the officers of the ship. In consequence of this, I had my bed immediately under the beam of the rudder, which, being violently moved from side to side by the wheel, greatly terrified me in my sleep. But the greatest inconvenience that I suffered, during the whole voyage, arose from being always exposed to the view and the insolence of the sailors, who were continually in this quarter of the vessel, eating, drinking, singing, and playing, or else cleaning their arms, making cartridges, and pursuing other employments of the same nature. My bed being laid exactly over the powder-bin, I almost every day found it thrown into some corner, under the guns, casks, or cables; often soiled with beer or grog, and at times even covered with vermin, some of the crew having lain upon it. I could, however, have borne this and other miseries and annoyances incident to a ship when in port, as every one should do who has resolved to undertake the life of a missionary; but that which was insufferable to me was, that close to my bed were the berths of three officers, who, during the four months we remained in the river, were frequently visited by their wives: those who know what liberties English women allow themselves, may understand what a poor missionary must endure in being obliged to remain day and night with such company. One of the women was so barefaced in her actions, that no sooner was her husband out of sight than she behaved in the most infamous manner.

All these disorderly proceedings, however, continued only during the four months in which the ship was lying at anchor;

for as soon as she had set sail, things were brought into such strict order that, comparatively, the vessel bore the appearance of a monastery.

Wishing to make choice of some tutelar saint who might be our protector during the voyage, we assembled together, and proceeded in the following manner. We agreed that each of us should write down the name of a saint upon three separate slips of paper, that these should be put into a box, and the saint whose name should first be drawn three times should be our patron. The first slip of paper drawn contained the name of St. Joseph; the second, the same name; the third, that of St. Paul; the fourth, again that of St. Joseph, who was thus declared our tutelar saint. Having thus selected our patron, we resolved to observe the following order of religious duties during the voyage. In the morning, silent prayer, religious reading, and self-examination, in private; then the recital of the Priest's Itinerary, the Litany of the Saints, a chapter out of the Martyrology, and one out of the Scriptures. On the afternoon of every Thursday and feast-day, some spiritual reading, followed by our individual observations and reflections, and by the recital of the Litany of the Virgin. In the evening, after self-examination, if any one should find that he had transgressed against a brother, he was to ask pardon in the presence of the others. On Wednesdays and Fridays, a chapter of transgressions was to be held, each confessing his sins, and praying the others, one by one, to mention whatever failings they might have perceived in him. We were also to hold meetings upon moral accidents, each speaking by turns; and whenever more than two of us were together, the Latin language was to be employed.

Lent now drew near, and we held a meeting to determine whether we should keep it or not. Our doubts upon the subject arose principally from the circumstance that, as we were still detained in the river, we had an allowance of fresh meat every day; and that, besides the inconvenience of cooking for ourselves separately, we could get nothing but salt-fish and a little soup. Fabri, Perrone, and Amodei were of opinion that we should keep it; Ceru and myself maintained the contrary. We, however, yielded to the majority; and accordingly we kept Lent for about a week; when, being convinced that the continuation

of such a diet would destroy our health, we unanimously resolved to desist. And this incident may serve as a warning to others of our profession, to regulate their excessive zeal; for certainly God does not expect us to do anything which would interrupt the execution of his direct commands. A religious life, doubtless, requires many mortifications, but these must be exercised with discretion; and it would have been a culpable imprudence in us if, by using such a regimen, we had rendered ourselves incapable of fulfilling our important duties.

We were doomed to experience still further delays and disappointments. On the evening of the 3rd of March there arrived a boat, commissioned by government to press a part of our crew for the Queen's immediate service; and other ships, lying at anchor around us, were treated in the same manner. This was done for the purpose of manning thirteen vessels which were to be sent against some ships that were hovering near the mouth of the Thames, and supposed to be French privateers. Being thus deprived of our sailors, we feared that our departure would be delayed until another year; and this fear was increased by the news that the French ships conveying the Pretender had arrived in Scotland, on which account the men-of-war which were to have convoyed us were ordered against the French fleet; and, as no merchantmen could leave port, the wide bosom of the Thames was soon crowded with vessels of every size. It seemed as if another London had arisen from the waves. A wonderful spectacle, which fully showed the great and destructive power that the English possess upon the seas.

These vexations were soon followed by an event which alarmed us all. The bishop of Ireland and his vicar-general, both friends of ours, were arrested, together with our late companion Guarmani, in the middle of the street. Through the interest of the Ambassador, the surgeon was released, but of the two ecclesiastics we heard no more. Under these critical circumstances, we naturally feared for ourselves also; and, in spite of all our miseries aboard, we never for a moment quitted the vessel. Fortunately, while we were thus afflicted, the pilot came on board with the consoling intelligence that we were immediately to depart; and on the 8th of the same month, which was Easter-day, we at last set sail, with many other ships.

CHAPTER IV.

Setting sail for Bengal—Loss of Luggage—Flying-fish—The Christening—Rigid Observance of the Sabbath—Catching a Shark—Climbing to the Main-top—The Cape of Good Hope—Conversions aboard.

OUR voyage down the Thames and through the Channel was extremely tedious. I will not attempt to state how often we were becalmed or driven back by contrary winds; or how often after weighing anchor and setting sail we were suddenly obliged again to suspend our course, lest the violence of the tide or a gust of wind should force us against the sand-banks or shoals, which are very frequent both in the river and the Channel. Suffice it to say, that although we set sail on the 8th of April, it was not until the 4th of June that we reached the open sea. Amodei and I had soon another cause of vexation, in the loss of our luggage; but I must say, to the glory of God, that I was soon reconciled to this privation. Nay, I fancied that I breathed more freely, as though I had been relieved from an oppressive burden; and I felt like a bird which, freed from the constraint of a cage, can spread its wings and rove where it pleases. Methought I had just begun to be an apostle, and that, clad in a ragged cassock, with the breviary under my arm and a crucifix on my breast, I was about to wander through the vast regions of China, preaching to those blind pagans the Holy Word of God.

When we had passed the twenty-seventh degree of latitude, we began to see the flying-fish. Their wings are formed of cartilage like those of the bat, and extend to the base of the tail. When pursued by other fish they fly in shoals out of the water; and those which alight upon ships, as they have no power to take wing again, are easily seized by the sailors. Usually they do not raise themselves more than three feet out of the water; but sometimes, when assisted by the action of the wind, or urged by fear, they fly much higher.

On the 29th we passed the tropic of Cancer, and with a

favourable wind entered the torrid zone. It is a custom in ships going to India, that every one who for the first time passes the two tropics, the Line, and the Cape of Good Hope, must undergo the ceremony called "the Christening," or pay a fine to the crew. Those who refuse to pay become the object of much obloquy and many hard words from the sailors, and are tied astride upon a piece of wood, on which they are drawn to the end of the main-yard, and suddenly dipped thrice into the sea. If any of the ship's boats have not passed the Line before, they are fined three bottles of brandy. Our captain accordingly had to pay six bottles for two boats. As to ourselves, having been kindly informed that the crew would be satisfied with whatever we might give, we contributed two shillings each. With the money thus obtained, the men bought brandy and sugar to make punch, of which they are particularly fond. I was told that those who are accustomed to this beverage find it pleasant and wholesome.

As we drew near the Line, the heat increased very sensibly, but not so much as we had expected; for it is not true that in the torrid zone the air and the water are as hot as fire, and that every thing putrifies. The water turns blackish, and offensive to the smell; but it soon purifies itself, first however breeding little worms, which afterwards become flies, as I was assured by the surgeon and other persons on board. The captain had given orders, that whoever should be absent from prayers on Sunday, either morning or afternoon, should be deprived of his share of bread and water. There were in the ship some sailors who were Catholics, and did not attend; but they were in no way molested. It once happened that some of the sailors having stayed away two or three times, were, by command of the captain, bound fast with cords, with their arms uplifted; but one of them to escape punishment said that he was a Catholic, and the captain believing, or pretending to believe his assertion, exempted him from punishment. In the afternoon, however, the man appeared at prayers, and thus proved how easily he could deny his religion.

The principal officers played almost every day at draughts, but on the Sunday no one attempted it; and many of those who could read, might be seen during a great part of the day with the Bible in their hands. One of the company who was em-

ployed in drawing a geographical map, wishing to continue his work on a Sunday, received a severe reprimand from the captain: such is the rigour with which these heretics observe the Lord's day.

Not far from the Line, a fish was caught, which by the English is called a shark. It is frequently seen in the torrid zone; but almost always alone. We took about fifteen of these fish, the largest of which was nearly nine feet in length, and proportionably large. It was caught with a hook, baited with a great lump of salt beef, of which they are ravenously fond. As he was being drawn up out of the water his jaw was torn by the hook, and he escaped; but the bait being again thrown in, the greedy animal, which I could not help likening to a relapsed sinner, heedless of danger and in spite of the agony he must have felt from the broken jaw, again gorged the beef, and was caught. When he was pulled on deck, he made a desperate struggle, and though a large piece of flesh was cut from his back, he still continued to leap about; so that in order to dispatch him, it was necessary to strike him repeatedly on the head with a hatchet, and then divide his body into three parts. This operation required much time and labour; and those engaged in it were often in great danger.

The animal had no scales, and was covered with a dark skin like that of an eel, but as hard and rough as shagreen. When it lay on its belly, it was impossible to discover its mouth or eyes, which could only be seen when it was turned on its back. Its mouth was disproportionately large, and furnished with three rows of strong and sharp teeth. On opening its head, we found two large white lumps like curdled milk, which the sailors carefully preserved, being, as they told me, an excellent specific for the purposes of midwifery. Its blood was both cold and black. When they are of a large size the flesh is tough, and they are not good as food; but we ate of the smaller ones, and found them tender and good. The manner in which this animal swims is curious, for when it opens its wing-like fins, it appears broader than it is long. No less strange is the way in which it prepares to seize the bait, being forced to turn upon its back, as the upper jaw of its enormous mouth overhangs the under one.

The second mate told me, that he had found in the belly of

one which he had taken, the entire hide of a cow with its horns. Another officer, called Jim, assured me that a young man, while swimming round the ship, was attacked by one of these fish, which bit the middle of his body completely through, and carried away one half. To this the captain added, that he had found in the belly of one of them the body of a sailor, which had been swallowed twenty-four hours before, while he was swimming near the ship. The bones of the man were in process of digestion, and could be easily broken; but the most extraordinary circumstance was, that a knife, which the man had in his pocket, had become flexible, and could be bent like a piece of paper. In the sharks which we caught, nothing was found but some fish of about three feet in length, partly digested and partly entire.

These fish take great care of their young, but in quite a different manner from all other known animals. When they perceive them to be in danger, they open their mouths and receive them into their bellies, from which they cast them forth again when the danger is past. This the captain and others affirmed to be a fact which they themselves had witnessed.

On the 27th of July, through the favour of God and the protection of the glorious St. Anne, we crossed the Line with a prosperous gale. We unanimously joined in repeating a *Te Deum*, thanking the Lord for having granted us so easy a passage. A few days afterwards, the wind continuing propitious, we passed the Tropic of Capricorn, and thus entered the southern temperate zone. It is a custom on board English ships, that whoever for the first time climbs to the main-top, is there bound fast till he pays a fine to the sailors. It accordingly happened that the first surgeon, seeing some sailors and supercargoes climb to that part of the rigging, which they perhaps had done to ensnare him, not being aware of this custom, immediately climbed after them. He had however hardly arrived at the place, when he was suddenly seized by the sailors and secured tightly with cords, amid shouts of laughter, nor was he released till he agreed to pay the fine. The same joke was afterwards practised upon one of the supercargoes, but on his proving satisfactorily that he had already been fined in a former voyage, he was let off.

On the 6th of September we entered the port of Good Hope, which is very beautiful and of considerable extent. The country

belongs to the Dutch, but it is also inhabited by many French Protestants who were expelled from their country by Louis XIV. There were besides many Germans and Flemings, amongst whom were several Catholics who lived without any spiritual assistance. Having found them cold and wavering in the faith, I bade them all return to Europe. At the end of a fortnight we again set sail for Bengal. A few days afterwards we saw a whale; but all that I was able to learn of this huge animal was, that it could not be of the same species as that which swallowed the prophet Jonas, for its throat was so small that it would scarcely have allowed an egg to pass down it. In the Indian Ocean, the scurvy made dreadful havoc on board our ship, and though we missionaries had hitherto endeavoured to conceal our real character from the heretical company among which we had been thrown, yet on this occasion we deemed it our duty to cast off all disguise, for the eternal salvation of three of the crew, who were Catholics, but had for several years wallowed in sin, completely neglecting their religious duties.

On the 1st of January, 1709, one of the sailors, whom the scurvy had reduced to a state of extreme debility, fell into the sea. The boat was immediately lowered, and every effort made to save him; but to no avail. I was exceedingly grieved at this accident, for the poor fellow had been disposed to abjure his heresy, and we had agreed that as soon as we landed I should confess and receive him into the bosom of the true Church. We dared not do this on board, lest we might be observed, especially as, owing to my ignorance of the English language, the confession must have taken place through an interpreter, and consequently with closed doors, in order to avoid discovery and punishment. Whilst still sorrowing for this loss, I was informed that an English youth, who was the son of a great London merchant, finding himself brought nearly to his end by the same fearful disease, was also anxious to abjure his religion and receive absolution at my hands; but the Devil, who reigns among those heretics, kept them constantly about the bed of the patient until he died, leaving me bitterly disappointed.

CHAPTER V.

The Mouth of the Ganges—Ignorance of a Monk—Recruiting Missionaries—Advice to Authors—Sun-Worshippers—St. Thomas's Prophecy—The Transmigration of Souls—A Woman Exorcised.

On the 1st of February we at last entered the mouth of the Ganges, amid general exultation. In ascending the river, my companions being still laid up with the scurvy, I one day stood alone in a corner of the vessel reading my breviary, which from prudential motives was bound in white, and looked exactly like a common book. While thus employed, I suddenly heard a voice close by, inquiring in Portuguese whether I was a priest. I turned round, and on seeing an Indian youth, about fifteen years of age, who had come to meet us with other merchants from Calcutta, I reproved him in a severe tone. Perceiving that I was afraid to discover myself, he told me that he was a Catholic: in proof of which he crossed himself and then eagerly proffered his services. It was by no accident that this youth found me out. He was sent to us by Divine Providence, which perceived that, being perfectly friendless in that country, with shattered health and exhausted funds, we could not have reached our destination without an act of its special assistance. Having learned from this young man that the Augustines, for whom we had a letter from the General of the Order, had a house in the neighbourhood, I proceeded thither as soon as we arrived at Calcutta, leaving my companions behind. On reaching their abode, I was introduced to an old monk, who was deaf, and ignorant in the extreme; but a good sort of man withal. He took my letter and affected to read it; but as he had no knowledge of Latin, he could make nothing of it. Being desirous to know the name and surname of the Father-General, he turned to me, giving himself an air as though he had understood the whole, and pointing at the signature, he said, "What villainous writing! pray de-

cipher this signature for me." When he had heard the name and surname of the Father-General, he betrayed his ignorance still more, by asking me whether he was the Father-General, or the Father-General in Chief; and I, adapting my words to his ignorance, assured him that it was actually the Father-General in Chief, whereat he expressed himself greatly pleased. He afterwards inquired whether I was really sent by St. Peter, and on being answered in the affirmative, he conceived a great opinion of me, and did all in his power to forward my wishes.

As the reader will no doubt be surprised at the ignorance of this monk, I will tell him how such things come to pass. The Most Serene Kings of Portugal being very anxious to maintain and extend our Holy faith in these regions, decreed that all their officers and sailors who on passing thither might feel disposed to take holy orders, should be allowed to follow their inclination without any impediment. The harvest being abundant and the reapers scarce, when a Portuguese vessel arrives at Goa, the missionaries of different religious orders go on board and call out aloud whether there is any one who will join them. Among such numbers there is always some one, who having in a moment of danger vowed to reform, or hoping to live more comfortably, answers the call; and thus many of those missionaries are very ignorant, and some of them very vicious, which is still worse; so that, far from contributing to the propagation of our Holy religion, they do exactly the reverse, by bringing it into contempt.

A few days afterwards we were invited to dine with Mr. Barneby, an Irish gentleman, who with great generosity had granted us three places gratis on board a ship which he was freighting for Manilla. Among various things that he did for our entertainment, he produced Leuilles' work on Bengal, and pointed out a great number of ludicrous blunders with which that book abounds. Many years afterwards I enjoyed together with several of my fellow-missionaries a similar amusement, in picking out the absurd statements inserted in a certain "Account of the Chinese Empire." Authors are thus liable to ridicule or blame, if, when writing without a due knowledge of the subject of which they treat, they adopt indiscriminately all they hear. I therefore always warn my juniors never to attempt any thing of the kind before they have lived in a country long enough to

understand it fully, or can at least obtain their information from persons who are at once enlightened and trustworthy: and in the event of their being called upon to take part in some important transaction or controversy, I recommend them to make themselves masters of the language of the country, and to take every possible precaution against erroneous impressions.

One morning as I walked beside the Ganges, I observed a considerable number of men and women bathing promiscuously, but with edifying behaviour; and among them I saw a man who held a looking-glass in one of his hands, turning his face towards the sun, whilst with the other hand he threw the water upon his body, describing signs much like the cross, and moving his lips as though he had been praying. On inquiry, I was informed that this man was worshipping the sun, and that the others were also idolaters, who bathed in the Ganges because they believed that the waters of that river possessed the miraculous power of cleansing them from their sins.

It is well known that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Christian religion in these parts; and that he afterwards suffered martyrdom at Meliapor, on the coast of Coromandel. The true faith was afterwards polluted and overpowered by the sect of the Nestorians; but upon the arrival of the Portuguese, it was restored by the labour of zealous missionaries. The Portuguese were greatly helped and encouraged in this holy work by an ancient prophecy, left by St. Thomas, and engraved upon a stone column near Meliapor, and not far from the sea. This prophecy is written in the language of the country, and imports that the "religion which he had planted would flourish again, when the sea, then forty miles distant, should reach that column; at which time white men would come into these parts from a distant country." All this appears to have been fulfilled by the arrival of the Portuguese in India.

The missionaries reclaimed a great number of the Nestorians, and converted a still greater number of the pagans; the Mahomedan government only forbidding attempts to convert those of its own persuasion; it being its maxim, that no religion could be better than that of Mahomed, but that Christianity was better than idolatry.

In imitation of the Catholics, the English, the Dutch, and the

Danes have sent many of their preachers into these countries; but the grace of God was not with them; and this, together with their bad conduct, which so ill accorded with what they preached, prevented them from producing any good effect. Every sect of idolaters has here its temples, priests, sacrifices, ceremonies, and idols. Among the numerous errors in which these blind heathen multitudes live, a principal one is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They are therefore very kind to all sorts of animals and insects, which they neither kill nor eat; but on the contrary feed them, and attend on them with great care. To such a pitch do they carry this belief, that they have hospitals for lice and fleas, and pay liberally by the hour those who will allow the insects to feed on their blood. They do this in the persuasion that after death their souls will pass into the bodies of some animal more or less loathsome, according to the good or evil actions of their past life. Above all things they highly esteem and venerate sheep and cows, from a foolish belief that they once sustained the earth upon their horns, and that a cow pacified the anger of their idol, Mahadeu, when he had resolved to destroy the universe for the sins of men; and also because after death a great river must be passed, which can only be done by holding fast to the tail of a sheep or cow.

Influenced by this superstition, upon rising in the morning, just as we cross our foreheads with holy water, so do they soil theirs with the dung of a cow; and thus disfigured, they walk out and transact their daily business. When we are at the point of death, we feel satisfied if we can procure the assistance of an ecclesiastic of known piety: these people on the contrary are happy if in their last moments they can lay hold of the tail of a cow, believing that they shall thus easily pass over the great river. If while they are expiring the cow happens to discharge the contents of her stomach, this circumstance is considered as an omen of their future felicity, because they suppose that it is owing to their soul being about to migrate into the body of the cow. After the death of the poor idolater, the cow is well kept, and treated with the same attention that would have been paid to the man himself had he lived. Such being the veneration they have for these animals, and particularly for the cow, when any one is converted to the Christian faith, the missionaries

always test his sincerity by obliging him to eat cow's flesh, after which his former heathen associates look upon him with horror, and will neither eat, drink, nor converse with him.

Some of the more strict of this sect form the resolution of becoming saints, and those people, in their blind ignorance of the true faith, believe that they have attained the highest point of perfection when they have passed a certain number of years in the same spot, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and remaining always in the same posture. I myself saw one of these saints, falsely so called, who had for many years held his hands in one position, and whose nails had grown a hideous length and penetrated into his arm, so that he could not open his hands, and was waited on by others in all the necessities of nature; indeed, all these penitents are thus waited on, and those who can render them any service esteem it fortunate as securing their own future happiness.

I was informed by Father Giovanni Da Fano, that having heard of a woman who, aspiring to this imaginary sanctity, was then standing night and day in the same place, with her hands raised towards the heavens, he felt a great curiosity to see her. Being persuaded that she could not thus stand always immoveable without the assistance of the Evil One, he went close behind her, and in a low voice he commanded the malignant spirits to depart from the woman. Immediately upon this her arms dropped, and she turned round angrily, exclaiming in her own language, "Ah, demon! demon!" It was thus clearly proved that such arts as these could only be performed through the instrumentality of the great enemy of mankind, whose reign in those regions is supreme.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure for Manilla—Miraculous Escape—Preaching in earnest—Cardinal de Tournon's Imprisonment in Macao — His Death —The Population of China—Order to Paint for the Emperor.

I MIGHT relate a great deal more respecting Bengal, but as my sojourn in this country was very short, I think it best to omit doing so, lest I should state anything inaccurate. On the 22nd of February we set out for Manilla, in the ship San Lorenzo, which, though very small, had fifty passengers on board, twenty-three of whom were Catholics, and the remainder Mahomedans and idolaters; but six of the latter were slaves, and had been bought with a view to their being instructed and baptized. On my arrival on board the San Lorenzo, I again put on my cassock, throwing off the lay dress I had worn ever since my departure from Cologne, and applied myself in good earnest to reclaim the Catholics on board, who were mostly relapsed sinners, entirely heedless of their religious duties. During some stay we made in Malay, I was requested by the captains of two other ships to assist their crews in their spiritual exercises, which I did with great pleasure, and I hope with some success.

I did not go from Malay to Manilla by the San Lorenzo, but in Our Lady of Guadaloupe, having been solicited by the captain to give his sailors some religious instructions. In the Strait of Malay, not far from Singapore, we were very nearly lost, the navigation of those seas being extremely dangerous, owing to a multitude of little islands which, opposing the waves in all directions, form a labyrinth of eddies and whirlpools. One day whilst I was at my morning devotions, I suddenly heard a dreadful noise under the ship, followed by a great uproar and confusion above my head; and almost at the same moment an American merchant burst into my cabin, and, without uttering one word, seized me by the arm and led me on deck, and I then perceived that the vessel had been driven upon a rock, and was near

sinking. I immediately rushed back to my cabin, and taking the holy water, and a candle of the holy Father Innocent XI., I first blessed the sea, then broke the candle into pieces, and threw it to the waves, well knowing its miraculous powers in similar cases. Very soon after I had done this we were out of danger; and the means which God in his ineffable goodness employed to save us were, that the boat of another ship, taking one of our anchors, went and lowered it at a considerable distance, and enabled us to tow the vessel out of its fearful position.

At Manilla I was desired by the Governor to teach the principles of our faith to eight Dutch deserters who were confined in the fort; and to my great satisfaction, after forty days' exertions, they were brought to make a public abjuration of their heresy. Taking advantage of my free access to the fort, on Sundays I went about carrying the cross and singing hymns till I had collected a pretty numerous congregation, when I proceeded to teach them the Catechism, and to preach a sermon on some important point of our holy religion. After the sermon I again took the crucifix in my hand, and made a profession of repentance, imparting to each word all the warmth of my soul. Then, in order to make a deeper impression on my hearers, I untied my cassock, which for this express purpose I wore open behind, and I scourged myself till both my shoulders bled. For some time my companions ridiculed these inflictions; but when they perceived that a captain, who had never paid the least attention to my exhortations, was so touched by them that he resolved to reform, and live as a Christian, they no longer jested on the subject. Since my return to Naples I have not continued these practices—not that I should ever censure them in any one else, but merely because, in my old age, I came to understand that reasoning and prayer are the surest means of persuasion, whilst violence and exaggeration can produce at best but a blaze which no sooner appears than it vanishes.

As there was no ship at Manilla bound for China, the King of Spain having interdicted all intercourse between his subjects and the Celestial Empire, a small ship was fitted out by subscription, entirely for us, under the orders of Don Teodorico Pedrini, a missionary who had already been some years in these regions, and who for this purpose had disguised himself as a

captain. His inexperience in nautical matters nearly cost us our lives two or three times; but in spite of all, on the night of the 2nd of January, 1710, we cast anchor in one of the numerous islands close to Macao.

The next morning Don Pedrini went on shore in his assumed garb of a captain, and in the afternoon he returned on board, accompanied by two ecclesiastics of the suite of Cardinal de Tournon. This brilliant ornament of the Sacred College had, on his first arrival in China, been received by the Emperor with unequivocal marks of esteem; but having since refused to conform to certain enactments of the Board of Rites concerning the missionaries, he had been confined at Macao. Soon after dusk we went to pay him our respects, under the guidance of the two ecclesiastics just mentioned, eluding the vigilance of the guards by entering his prison through a private door which opened upon the sea. We were received by the holy man with extreme affability and kindness; and after a long and deeply-interesting conversation, we retired from his presence perfectly edified.

Although the Cardinal, and about forty missionaries of different religious orders, were thus kept in confinement during the first three weeks of our stay at Macao, I and my companions were left quite free. On the morning of the 23rd of January, however, we were suddenly visited by five mandarins, who, after sending for Father Fabri, began in judicial form to ask us who we were, whence we came, what was our business, and so forth, writing down their questions and our answers. After this they went away, leaving the house guarded by Chinese soldiers, for whose accommodation a booth was instantly erected on the premises.

After duly considering the indignities to which our holy religion was exposed in his own person and in those of the missionaries, his Eminence resolved to address a remonstrance to the Viceroy at Canton, and at the same time to transmit with it a dispatch for the Emperor, announcing his promotion to the rank of Cardinal, and the arrival of six missionaries, three of whom were acquainted with mathematics, music, and painting. His Eminence was induced to take this step by the recollection that, when he was at Peking, the Emperor had asked him to write, in his name, to the Pope for some missionaries skilled in the arts

and sciences; and he now hoped to recover the favour of the monarch by sending him Father Fabri, Don Pedrini, and myself, in the above capacities. When I heard that, by this arrangement, I was doomed to quit my favourite vocation for the purpose of cultivating an art of which I knew only the rudiments, I could not refrain from expressing my bitter dissatisfaction; but reflecting that it was at that moment impossible to benefit the cause of our religion as a missionary, I soon resigned myself to obedience.

His Eminence bore all his troubles and privations with a Christian fortitude which was truly admirable; but nevertheless his bodily frame being unequal to sustain the efforts of his great mind, after three months' lingering illness he went to receive the palm of martyrdom in Heaven—departing this life in the forty-first year of his age, sincerely beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

Although visions and revelations, as being liable to error and delusion, do not prove the merit of a Christian so certainly as the great virtues with which the Cardinal de Tournon was adorned, yet as the following possesses all the conditions required by the highest authorities on the subject, I cannot refrain from inserting it here:—

Bishop Mullener, a man of truly apostolical piety, was engaged in prayer in the province of Soo-chow-en, when he suddenly perceived the Cardinal before him, radiant in countenance and clad in pontifical garments, who said to him, "I depart for Paradise," and then disappeared. This was told by the Bishop to Father Appiani, who suffered for eighteen years in a Chinese jail for having obeyed the Cardinal rather than the Board of Rites; and Father Appiani repeated it to me, when, as I was passing through Canton on my return to Europe, I paid him a visit in his prison.

In consequence of an order from the Emperor, very shortly after the death of his Eminence, we left Macao for Quang-chow-foo, which Europeans call Canton, from the name of the province of Quang-tong, of which it is the capital. The Chinese towns are distinguished by three different denominations, according to their size. The largest, which are fifty-eight in number, are named Foo; the next, amounting to two hundred and forty-

seven, are called Chow; and the smallest, which are as many as one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, bear the name of Yen. Quang-chow-foo is therefore a city of the first class. The streets are generally long and straight; and the houses, according to the fashion prevailing all over China, have only one floor, and are enclosed by walls, without any windows outside, so that they look like nunneries. The traffic carried on here is so great as to give the place, all the year round, the appearance of a fair.

As it is almost impossible to speak of the prodigious amount of the population of Canton without being suspected of exaggeration, I will leave the reader to form his own opinion from the following incident:—On my return to London in 1724, I was invited to dine with a party of English gentlemen who wished to hear some account of my long residence in China. Among various other things, they asked me what the population of Canton and Peking really was; and when I talked of the millions stated by the Chinese, they showed their incredulity by a burst of laughter. I told them that if they had no faith in the assertions of the Chinese, they ought at least to believe their countryman and friend, Mr. Fazacalei [Fazakerly?], who was one of the party, and who, having been five or six times in Canton, would, I had no doubt, corroborate my statement; but as he joined them in their expressions of disbelief, my appeal to him only produced more laughter. Whereupon I proceeded to question Mr. Fazacalei in this manner:—

"Have you ever seen Canton from the top of the great tower?"

"Yes, I have," he answered.

"How large did you think it?"

"At least twice as large as London."

"Which of the two cities is the most thickly inhabited?"

"Canton, by far: its thoroughfares being at all times obstructed with people."

"Is it men or women that chiefly form the crowd?"

"Oh, no woman is ever seen in the streets of Canton."

"Then, gentlemen," said I, "if London contains eight hundred thousand inhabitants, as you say, surely Canton, being twice its size, and with a male population sufficient to throng the streets, must have sixteen hundred thousand; and if Canton

contains sixteen hundred thousand, Peking, which is far larger, and more thickly peopled, cannot fail to have at least two millions." After which they raised no further objections.

It is true that we Europeans are astonished when we are told of millions of men living within the walls of the same city; but those who have seen how all the towns, villages, hamlets, and roads of China swarm with human beings, are no longer surprised. How the population of the Celestial Empire has increased to this enormous extent it is not my object to inquire; but among the many causes which must have contributed to produce such a state of society, I will merely mention these:—First, the limited number of bonzes and bonzesses, who are devoted to the service of their idols, and, like our monks and nuns, profess celibacy; second, the prevailing custom that each man should marry as many wives as he can support, not caring what may become of the children; third, the disgrace attached to such persons as do not marry; fourth, the perfect peace that the empire has enjoyed for a long time; fifth, the total absence of contagious diseases; sixth, the extraordinary fecundity of the women; and, lastly, early marriages, which generally take place as soon as the parties have attained the age of puberty. As an illustration of the numerous progenies of the Chinese, I may add that one day while dining with the steward of the Viceroy, I asked him the number of his children. Not knowing it, he began to reckon them by name; but when he came to the eighteenth he was puzzled, and called in the servants to help him to count the remainder.

Having finished two pictures, which I had begun at Macao, for the Emperor, I presented them to the Viceroy, and he forwarded them to his Celestial Majesty, with firing of mortars, as is customary whenever anything is sent to this monarch. He then sent me an old picture representing Confucius on his knees before the idol Lee-lao-keon, which he desired me to copy for the Emperor. As I could not undertake such an idolatrous task, I immediately went to him; and he, in consequence of my being about to enter the service of the sovereign, came to meet me at the gate. The moment he saw me he asked, "Nan-lee noe, Pay-lee?" That is, whether I wished to use the ceremonies of the south, or those of the north? The ceremonies of the south are

those employed by the Chinese, and, on account of their number and style, are more fit for divine worship than for the intercourse of men; those of the north belong to the Tartars, and are few and easy, and nearly similar to ours. I therefore answered, "Pay-lee," or the ceremonies of the north. After this he immediately took me by the hand, and led me to the inner apartments, where he made me sit down at his left, which among the Tartars is the place of honour, as the right is with the Chinese. On my telling him that my religion did not permit me to copy the picture, he apologised, saying that he was not acquainted with the dogmas of our faith, and added that he would send me another. After a pretty long conversation I took leave, and he did me the honour of accompanying me back to the gate. He accordingly sent a picture; and in order to ascertain the truth of a report which had been spread, that I knew nothing of painting, he at the same time ordered me to draw the portrait of a living Chinese. He also deputed a great number of people to come and see me work, till at length perceiving that I had been slandered, he condemned the originator of the calumny to receive thirty lashes. As soon as the copy and the portrait were finished, he desired me to paint eight more; and, as if they could be blown with a breath like glass bottles, he sent next morning to inquire how many I had made.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure for Peking—The Candle-Hills—Chinese Porters—Navigation of the River Nan-kiang-huo—Sacrifices—Fishing-Birds.

In obedience to an order received from the Emperor, the Viceroy ordered some vessels to be fitted out for the purpose of sending us to Peking at his own expense. We sailed by the Great Canal on the 27th of November; our party consisting of Fathers Tilisch and Cordero, both mathematicians, Don Pedrini, Father Fabri, and myself. In a few hours we reached Joosh-yen, which the Chinese consider as a village, because it has no courts of justice, and is subject to Canton; but in every other respect it is a large and wealthy manufacturing town. Before we had made much progress in our journey we had occasion to admire the care shown by the government of this well-regulated empire; for at every fourth mile we found a large vessel, with a piece of artillery at the prow, and a good number of soldiers on board, expressly intended to protect the canal from robbers.

After a very pleasant voyage of four days, amid fruitful fields and vast numbers of people always in sight, on either side of the river, we came to some mountains which have been cut through for the course of the canal. This part of the passage is considered dangerous, on account of its being much infested by robbers. Here we perceived on our left the celebrated hills called Lah-chew-shian—that is, candle-hills, from their close resemblance to candles. They are lofty and barren, and rise abruptly from the surrounding plain. When we arrived near the city of Hing-hien-chee-foo, some persons, pretending to come from the governor, ordered us to stop, that they might come on board to see whether our numbers agreed with the list submitted to the authorities by the commander of our convoy. The captain, sus-

pecting that they were robbers, refused to admit them; and, as they still continued to approach, several muskets were fired into the air, to intimidate them. Upon this they turned about, but shortly afterwards they made two more attempts to board us; being, however, received with volleys of shot, they at length went away.

After a voyage of six days upon the great river Kiang, we arrived at a village called Kiang-Cheou—that is, the mouth of the Kiang. The river Nan-kiang-huo, upon which we were to continue our course, is generally about a gun-shot across, and in winter contains but very little water; the streams from the northern mountains, by which it is fed, being then frozen. For this reason the boats employed upon this river are flat-bottomed; nevertheless, they often touch the ground, and in some parts the sailors are obliged to push the boat along with their shoulders or with poles; and in these cases even the women help, though they may be burdened with an infant at their backs. Owing to the shallowness of the water we were unable to continue our course, and therefore stopped at a village called Hoang-hang, where we remarked a house which was well fortified, and of extraordinary size, containing, as I found upon examination, forty-eight rooms. I was told by the Chinese that it was used as a place of refuge by the neighbouring population when attacked by bands of robbers. The next day we arrived at the town of Nan-young. We wished to sleep in the convent of the Spanish Augustines, but our conductor objected to this; stating that he had received orders not to permit us to lodge in any houses inhabited by Christians. At this place all our luggage was weighed and divided into lots that could be carried by one or two men; for here the river ends, and a mountain is to be passed which divides the province of Canton from Kian-sy. This mountain, called Mei-ling, has two miles of steep ascent on one side, and two of descent on the other, and is about thirty miles distant from another river, on which we were again to embark. Everything is carried the whole of this distance by porters, vehicles and animals of every kind being excluded; and as these two rivers form the chief channel of communication between the south and the north of the empire, the road which connects them is so covered

with people, that, during its whole length of thirty miles, it has constantly the appearance of a fair.

These porters carry burdens like pack-horses, and also sedans or palanquins, to do which they do not use straps, but a kind of yoke, made of hard wood, which chafes and cuts their flesh when they do not take the precaution of wearing a collar of felt or leather. It is really marvellous to see with what untiring swiftness these men perform their journeys of thirty miles a-day, at five miles an hour, stopping to rest only two or three times. It must be remarked, however, that these palanquins, as well as the more stately sedans, are very light, being always constructed of bamboo.

On the fifteenth day of our journey we arrived at the city of Nan-gan-foo, and were allowed to dine with Father Fernandes, at the residence of the Reformed Franciscans; but as we could not stop there during the night, he returned with us, and passed the night on board our vessel. While in this city, I was not a little surprised to see boys and girls of eight or nine years carrying burdens far too heavy for their age. We next came to the town of Kan-cheou-foo, in which both the Jesuits and the Reformed Franciscans have stations. Here we found a custom-house, being the first we had seen since our departure from Canton. Every morning, at about two hours after sunrise, the ships lying here are searched, and compelled to pay the duties required. Those which arrive after that time are obliged to wait till the next day. Having given notice that we were in the service of the Emperor, and on our way to the imperial court, we were not delayed nor troubled by any search. We had not, however, continued our voyage for more than an hour when our sailors went ashore to perform a sacrifice, in which they offered up different animals and counterfeit paper-money, which last they burn, believing that in another world it will be changed into good coin. This was done because we were about to enter a part of the river rendered very dangerous by a multitude of rocks, against which the current breaks with great violence. Ships are here in imminent danger of being lost; and it requires great experience and dexterity in the sailors to steer a safe course, especially at a spot called Shee-pah-tan, or "eighteen

breakers," upon which the waves dash with fearful impetuosity. It was for protection against this peril that the sailors offered sacrifices and prayers to their idols.

On their return on board they bound up some bundles of aromatic wood and burnt them as incense in honour of their gods. I no sooner perceived this than I ran, snatched them away, and threw them into the water; setting up a crucifix in their stead. A murmur immediately arose among the sailors; but it subsided upon their being told by our converted servant that this was the image of our God, who was omnipotent; and that the vessel being thus placed under his protection, no unfortunate accident need be feared.

Soon after, the river narrowed to only two hundred and sixty paces in breadth, and we arrived in the midst of those dreaded rocks, where we beheld with no small apprehension the fury of the waves that dashed upon them, and the danger in which our vessel was, owing to the irresistible power of the current. Our sailors, however, managed their oars and rudder so admirably, that they preserved us. The rocks under water are the most perilous. I saw one of the boats strike upon one of them, and instantly become a wreck. At length, after passing two whole days amid these dangers, we were very thankful to find ourselves safely beyond them. Six of the vessels of our convoy were lost, and the one in which we were narrowly escaped.

While continuing our course upon this river we witnessed a mode of fishing much practised in China, and a most interesting sight it was. The fishermen employ a certain kind of birds called loo-soo, which are rather larger than a duck, and have a neck as long as that of a goose. As they are quite black, they also bear the name of shew-e-laou, which signifies water-crow. The fisherman takes them in his boat, and when he sets them at liberty they swim upon the water, and at the sight of a fish they dive and secure it in their beaks. A ring is put upon their necks, which will allow them to swallow the smaller fish, but not the larger. When the fisherman perceives that their throats are filled with fish, he thrusts into the water a long pole, upon which these birds have been trained to climb and return into the boat; he then squeezes their throats to make them disgorge their

prey, and every time this is done he obtains about two handfuls of fish. The greater the number of these birds a fisherman possesses, the richer is he considered to be; for the expense of keeping them is a mere nothing, as the smaller fish which they catch afford them in general sufficient food. I remarked, also, that when these loo-soo have dived, they rise to the surface of the water with their prey in their beak, and remain nearly a quarter of an hour before they plunge again to swallow their food. Hence it would appear they are taught by instinct that it would be dangerous for them to swallow a fish before it is dead.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dangers of Medical Practice—Missionary Pride—Foundlings—Mahomedans.

WE arrived on Christmas-day at Nan-chang-foo, which is the capital of the province of Kian-sy, and were soon afterwards visited by Father Simoy, a Portuguese Jesuit, who informed us that he was in hourly expectation of the arrival of a lay-brother from Peking. On the following day the weather was so rough that we could not cross the river, which is here a mile and a half broad. We thus returned Father Simoy's visit, and while we were at dinner we received the intelligence that the brother above named had been robbed at a place called Lo-hua, about twelve miles distant. Having some skill in the medical art, he had been commanded by the Emperor to visit his twentieth son, who was ill. Either from not understanding the disorder, or from reluctance to give pain to the monarch, he pronounced that there was no danger. Not long after, the prince died, and the lay-brother was kicked, cuffed, and beaten so severely, by order of the Emperor, that he fell seriously ill in consequence, and was now repairing to Macao, on leave of absence. This must not surprise my readers, for I can add that, while in Peking, I was acquainted with some medical men who, having attended one of the imperial family, and not having succeeded in their treatment of the case, received a severe flogging, by the Emperor's command, and, still smarting from the lashes, were sent to prison, loaded with heavy chains. Fortunately for them, another member of the imperial family was taken ill, and they were ordered to attend the patient during the whole of his illness, without, however, being freed from their chains. Having succeeded this time in effecting a cure, they were set free, but on condition that they must continue to wear round their necks a small chain fastened with a clasp, as a warning for the future. Taught by

these and many other similar occurrences, the Jesuits, who were in the Emperor's service as mathematicians, painters, watch-makers, surgeons, or in other capacities, would never undertake to serve him as physicians.

Upon leaving Nan-chang-foo, we no longer travelled by water, but in litters, our attendants following on horseback; and thus, on the 1st of January, 1711, we entered the city of Kiaou-kian-foo. At the inn where we stopped for the night, with the assistance of an interpreter, I entered into conversation with the host and his son, upon the principles of the Christian religion, and they both appeared so convinced of its truth that they requested to be baptized. But as I judged that in so short a time it was impossible that they could fully understand the nature of the subject, I left them a book, in Chinese, on the Christian faith, and directed them where to find a missionary who would baptize them.

These two conversions filled me with great joy, as they were the first I had made. I may here take occasion to observe that, if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased; for the Chinese possess excellent natural abilities, and are both prudent and docile. But, unfortunately, our missionaries have adopted the lofty and pompous manner known in China by the appellation of "Tti-mjen." Their garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them. With a few honourable exceptions, all the missionaries live in this manner; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus, there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of having made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptize those who have been already converted by others; and, in the absence of missionaries, infants, aged persons, and those that are sick, are baptized by native Christians.

On the 18th I had the happiness of finding, in the open coun-

try through which we passed, a castaway child about two days old. I instantly ordered two persons who were with me to ascertain whether the infant was alive; and, upon finding that it still breathed, I endeavoured to procure a little water to baptize it. But, strange to say, although I had hitherto travelled with several villages constantly in sight, none was within our reach at this moment where we might obtain water, neither was there a brook or a spring. In consequence of this, I had the child carefully placed in my litter till we arrived at the inn called "Peysuy-kaou," where we were to lodge for the night. Here I put on my surplice and stole, and taking the oil, which I always carried with me, I consecrated the water; after this I baptized the infant; which, being a girl, I resolved to name Mary, in order to offer to the Holy Virgin this my first-begotten in the Lord. Upon my departure I left twelve shillings, partly my own and partly contributed by the Christians of the place, for her support, intending to send more from Peking if she lived: but this was not necessary—the child died soon after; and thus went, without trouble, to be happy with God in heaven.

There is nothing unusual in seeing children thus abandoned; it occurs daily throughout this vast empire. When mothers are poor, and have large families, or observe any defect upon the body of an infant, or any indication of an illness likely to become troublesome and expensive, they cast away the little creature without remorse. This cruel custom is also generally practised by unmarried women who have children, and especially by the members of a sect called Necoo, who pretend to live in spotless chastity. The poor infants are secretly thrown into a river, or left near the public road, in the hope that some passenger may take pity on them and carry them home. This sometimes happens, but generally the unfortunate beings are devoured by wild beasts. Not far from the walls of Peking, I myself saw one infant under the paws of a dog, and another between the teeth of a hog. By a charitable provision of the Emperor, carts are sent round the walls of his immense capital every morning in order to collect castaway infants, and carry them to a certain temple, where a number of women are employed to nurse them at his expense; but, owing to the want of proper attention, out of a hundred of these numerous ill-fated children, scarcely ten

survive. Well acquainted with this state of things, the Jesuits have appointed a Chinese Christian to baptize all the infants that are brought to that temple. To do this, however, they are obliged to obtain permission from the bonzes, which they must purchase with money. In this manner not less than three thousand children are baptized every year.

In other cities in China, where no such receptacle as this temple exists, the unfortunate little beings are left a prey to wild beasts; for it rarely happens that any one of them is preserved by the compassion of a stranger. I was so deeply affected by this that I resolved to devote the rent of a small house at Naples to the support of a catechist, charged with the care of baptizing such infants every morning; hoping that the example, however humble, might induce other persons to contribute more effectually for the same purpose.

The next day was spent at the same place where I had baptized the little foundling; the river being considered dangerous, in consequence of numerous masses of ice, which might have come in contact with the vessel. At length we crossed it safely, breaking with our oars the ice which had begun to form near the banks. Before starting we had, however, to wait a long time, because the officer appointed to conduct us had repaired to a temple of idols to sacrifice various animals and implore a good passage. This circumstance I only mention to shame many Christians, who are less eager to pray to their true God than these pagans to their false ones.

In these parts we saw for the first time a great many Mahomedans; and I afterwards understood that they are to be found in every province of the empire. It is said that they entered China from the west, in former times, when foreigners were permitted to pass the frontiers; and that they came from India. They formed connexions with the Chinese, and their descendants have increased to such an extent that they are now far more numerous than the Christians. They have their temples, or mosques, in which they meet to perform the rites of their religion. They wear the Chinese costume, with the exception of the lower orders, who are distinguished by a kind of cap of white cloth, pointed at the top: they also allow their mustachios to grow. They live with the Chinese in perfect harmony.

On arriving at Ool-she-poo I inquired of one of the Moors what he adored? "Pahy-choo" [the Lord], he answered. "What Lord?" said I. "Tah-se-yang-te-choo" [the Lord of Europe], he replied. "Do you not worship Tien" [Heaven]? I resumed. "Poo-pahy-tien-pahy-choo" [I do not worship Heaven, but the Lord], he replied, with some resentment. Father Fabri asked the same questions of two other Moors, and he received similar answers.

When we were within one day's journey of our destination, a messenger brought us an order to stop, because the Emperor was absent from Peking, and did not wish us to see any of the Europeans before we were presented to him; but, the day after, we were commanded to proceed, and accordingly we reached the capital on the 5th of January, about noon.

CHAPTER IX.

Introduction to the Emperor—The Ko-tow—Climate and Clothing—Abundance of Game—Chinese Stoves—Description of Peking.

BEING safely arrived in Peking, to which city the Emperor had returned, we were, by his command, immediately conducted to the palace, without being permitted to see any of the Europeans. After remaining for some time in an apartment with a number of mandarins, we were shown into a spacious open hall, where the chief eunuch came to meet us, and made us sit down upon cushions, which are used by the Tartars, who do not sit like us, or like the Chinese, but with their legs crossed. When we had taken our seats, the eunuch and the mandarins standing, two large golden bowls, one full of meat, the other of fish, were brought to us, with the intimation that the whole was sent by the Wan-Sui, which signifies the life of ten thousand years, which is one of the titles of his Imperial Majesty, and that it came from his own table. Such being the case, we were ordered to go on our knees, which is the universal custom upon receiving any thing direct from his Majesty. Then, taking the two bowls, we were obliged to raise them on high in our hands, and perform the ko-tow, that is, bend the head to the ground in sign of thanks for the great favour thus conferred upon us. After sitting down again we declined tasting the meat, saying that, being Friday, our religion forbade it, and we partook of the other things. We were then asked whether we had come prepared to serve the Emperor, even unto death; and we replied that such was exactly our wish.

When the dinner was over we were presented to his Majesty in his private apartments. He was seated, after the fashion of the Tartars, on a divan covered with velvet; and had before him a small table, upon which were placed some books and writing materials. Upon his right and left were some European

missionaries, with some eunuchs, having their feet close together and their arms hanging down, which, in China, is a sign of modesty and respect. Following the instructions received from the mandarins, as soon as we were within sight of the Emperor, we hastened our steps to the divan on which he was seated; and there we stood a few moments, with closed feet and arms hanging down. Then, at a signal given by the master of the ceremonies lowering his hand, we bent our knees; and, after remaining a short time in this position, at another signal we inclined slowly our heads till we touched the ground with the forehead; and this was repeated a second and a third time. After these three prostrations we arose to our feet, and then we again repeated them in the same manner, till they amounted to nine. This homage is called *tah-tee*, that is, the great or solemn ceremony. Subsequently, when we went into the presence of the Emperor, which was a frequent occurrence, we only knelt once; excepting at certain annual solemnities, such as the Emperor's birth-day, the first day of the year, and some few other occasions, when the nine prostrations were indispensable.

After these ceremonies his Majesty asked which of us had made any progress in the Chinese language, as he had been informed by the mandarins appointed to attend us that one of the five had done so. He was answered that I was the one. He then inquired our names, country, and profession, and whether we had brought any new mathematical works with us. He also ordered Signor Pedrini to play some music; put some questions to Signor Fabri concerning mathematics; and said something to me about painting. To this point the conversation had been kept up by means of interpreters. The Emperor now commanded me to answer the next question in Chinese, expressing myself as well as I could. He addressed me very slowly, employing many synonymous words, in order that I might understand him; and was very patient with me, making me repeat the words, till at length he made out what I meant. The question was as to the cause of Cardinal de Tournon's death at Macao. At the termination of the audience we were obliged to hasten out of the apartment as quickly as possible, which is a mark of respect paid to the Emperor. Having thus left the presence, I was informed by the mandarins, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that I

should go to the Palace to paint; and, accordingly, I entered upon my duty on the following day.

The city of Peking was once called Se-yun-tien-fu; but it received its present appellation when the emperors of China removed the government from Nanking to the north of the empire, in order to oppose the incursions of the Tartars. As Nanking means south royal residence, thus Peking signifies north royal residence; the word *Nan* meaning south, *Pe* north, and *king* royal residence. It lies in a plain which stretches to the south for more than ten days' journey without interruption, whilst at no great distance towards the north it is bounded by very numerous mountains. Owing to this extensive plain on the south, and this multitude of mountains on the north, Peking is exposed to deadly heat in summer, and severe cold in winter.

The transition from one extreme to the other, however, is slow and gradual, so that the Chinese of the upper classes go on changing their clothes all the year round. In summer they wear a cotton shirt, a waistcoat of light ko-poo, linen, a loose gown of the same material, called ppow-zoo, and over this a light silk spencer, called why-ttao. When the heat begins to decrease they exchange the ko-poo for a sort of crape called shah, and this again for satin; and, as the weather gets cool, they wear the ppow-zoo lined, and the why-ttao wadded, then both these garments wadded, after which they adopt the furs of ermine, sable, and fox, in the same gradation. In the depth of winter, besides having both the ppow-zoo and why-ttao lined with foxes' skin, they wear an under waistcoat of lambs' skin, and the loose gown over it wadded; and when it snows they put on a long cloak covered over with seal-skin. In spite of all this they still shiver with cold; and Count Ismailof, the Russian ambassador, told me that he and all his suit had been obliged to add garments to those they had been accustomed to wear, as the cold was far more intense here than at Moscow.

During the period of frost, that is, from October till March, Northern Tartary sends to the capital an enormous quantity of game, consisting chiefly of stags, hares, wild-boars, pheasants, and partridges; whilst Southern Tartary furnishes a great abundance of excellent sturgeon and other fish, all of which being frozen, can easily be kept during the whole winter. At the close

of the old year, and the beginning of the new, huge heaps of game and fish are exposed for sale in the streets, and it is surprising to see how cheap they are sold. For seven or eight silver tchens, which are equivalent to four shillings, one may buy a stag; for a trifle more a wild-boar; for five half-pence, a pheasant; and so on in the same proportion. During the winter it never rains at Peking, and it snows but seldom and sparingly. From March to June there are occasional showers; but in July and August it rains copiously.

Stoves are in use in Peking, not, however, such as I have seen in Germany, Holland, and England, standing in the room, like small ovens: here they are placed without the room, and the heat is transmitted to the apartment through pipes, which run completely under the floor. By the European method of warming houses, our heads may be hot while our feet are cold, whereas in Peking the feet are always well warmed, and a moderate heat alike pervades every part of the room. Wood is very scarce, but there are mountains in the neighbourhood which appear entirely composed of coal like that of England; and this is the fuel in general use. While I was living in Peking some Muscovites arrived who had never been there before. They built themselves stoves of the European kind, supposing that they were to be preferred; but soon perceiving their error, they pulled them down, and adopted those of the Chinese. They likewise discovered that the expense of heating their own stoves exceeded that of the Chinese a hundred-fold: for in their own they were obliged to use a great deal of wood, which at Peking is exceedingly dear; whereas the cost of fuel for the Chinese stove is a mere trifle, coals being very cheap, and the chimneys not more than a foot square, and two feet deep. In the southern part of China, the land being universally cultivated, there is but little wood; and as the expense of conveying coals would be very great, dry leaves, grass, weeds, and even the dung of animals, are used for fuel. The ground is dry and healthy.

The quantity of rice produced is not considerable; but this, as well as the other necessaries not found here, are abundantly supplied from other parts of the empire; and for their transport the present Emperor furnishes, at his own expense, nearly a thousand vessels of burden.

There is also a want of fruit, the quantity grown not being sufficient for so great a population; but this deficiency is remedied in the same manner, from the country about Peking. The quinces are larger than ours, and of exquisite flavour; and the apples and pears are so wholesome that they are given uncooked to sick persons. In Peking the price of these fruits is moderate; but, being of an excellent quality, they are carefully packed in paper, and sent to Canton, where they are sold at one silver tchen a-piece, which is equal to five half-pence of our money. They consist almost entirely of juice, so that when dried in the sun, as is done in Europe, nothing but the rind remains, which is quite unfit for eating. There are two or three kinds of plums, which are tolerably good; the chesnuts are small, and the other nuts resemble our own. The cherries are wild and small, and have little pulp.

The grapes are good, but they are only eaten. Formerly they were made into wine, as may be seen in manuscript books, where the word Ppoo-tow-tsien occurs, which signifies grape-wine; but they now make their wine of a kind of rice, which is bruised and compressed into solid cakes for the purpose, and easily conveyed to any distance for sale. When used, these rice-cakes are broken, and put into vessels with hot water, and fermented. The liquor thus produced might be mistaken for excellent grape-wine. It is made sweet or acid at pleasure by the addition of certain herbs introduced during the fermentation, and a colour (yellow, light, or dark) is given to it as required. In consequence of this use of rice, very little care is taken to cultivate the vine. The Europeans, however, employ grape-wine to celebrate mass; but from the watery nature of the grape, or from some other cause, during the heat of summer this wine ferments and turns sour, on account of which some of the missionaries cause it to be boiled.

Peking is composed of two distinct cities, one being called the Tartar city, the other the Chinese. The Tartar city is so named because it is inhabited by Tartars, and by those who, though not Tartars, are enrolled in the Ki-hiu-ti, or eight bands which constitute the Tartar troops. The Chinese city is inhabited by Chinese alone. It may be proper to observe that the district now called the Tartar city was in former times inhabited by the

eunuchs in waiting, who amounted to ten thousand; but under the present dynasty it is inhabited, as I have said, by Tartars and Chinese of the Ki-hiu-ti. The eunuchs, now about six thousand in number, live entirely within the walls of the palace. The Tartar city is square, and encircled by a yellow wall. It is within this yellow wall that the imperial palace is situated, but it is surrounded again by another wall, more lofty than that of the city, and of vast extent. The inhabitants within amount to a great multitude; for besides the six thousand eunuchs, there is in the seraglio a vast assembly of women, of whom the Emperor alone knows the number. There is also within the imperial residence a great number of Tartars who are in the service of the Emperor's sons, each of whom has his separate court; so that this palace may be very well considered as a third division, and Peking described as containing three distinct cities.

The Tartar city has nine gates, and each side of it is three miles in length. The Chinese city, which is also walled, joins the northern wall, which separates it from the Tartars. It is of the same size, but of a different form, being longer from east to west than from north to south; and it is more densely peopled with the middling and lower classes than the other city. In its four sides there are seven gates; and thus Peking has in all sixteen gates, and outside every gate there is a large suburb. The two cities together are twenty-one miles in circuit, according to a measurement made by the command of the Emperor. If to the circumference of twenty-one miles be added the suburbs and environs, which are also very populous, particularly those towards the west, through which nearly the whole commercial traffic of the Chinese capital passes, some idea may be formed of the vast size of this city. The palace, standing in the midst of the Tartar city, as already stated, has a southern aspect, and is in shape an oblong square, two miles in length, one in breadth, and six in circumference. The walls are enclosed and protected by a broad and deep ditch. There are three gates on each side, that in the centre being opened for the Emperor only, that towards the south for the heir-apparent, and the third for general use. These gates are guarded night and day by soldiers. Within and above these defences rises another wall, forming, as it were, an inner palace, in which reside the Emperor, his ladies, the

women in waiting, the eunuchs, and the imperial family. There is also a spacious garden, into which no one is admitted without an express permission from the sovereign. Those thus favoured, upon entering, write down their names, and upon leaving it blot them out. The splendour of the palace is equal to its extent; and though constructed according to the singular architecture of the Chinese, which resembles no other, except perhaps, in a slight degree, the Gothic, yet the whole is pleasing, and contains much that is excellent, and even wonderful.

CHAPTER X.

Oil-Painting—Chinese Delicacies—The New Year—Parental Authority—Jealousy—Punishment by Proxy—Women's Feet—Visiting-Cards.

ACCORDING to the command of his Majesty, on the 7th day of February I went to the palace, and was conducted to the room of the oil-painters, who were the pupils of a certain Gerardino, the first who introduced the art of painting in oil into China. After giving me a polite reception, these gentlemen offered me brushes, colours, and canvas, that I might proceed to paint in their presence. For their paintings in oil they do not employ canvas, but corea paper, with no further preparation than a mere wash of rock-alum water. This paper is often sold in sheets as large as a blanket, and is so strong that I was not able to tear it. Being aware of my want of skill in the art of design, I had never ventured to paint any subject of my own invention, limiting my ambition to the production of moderate copies; but as copies are not at all esteemed by the Chinese, I found myself in no slight difficulty. I however took courage on observing that all the other painters, to the number of seven or eight, painted nothing but landscapes with Chinese houses, the Emperor caring but little for pictures of figures, as I was afterwards informed. Landscape-painting being by no means impossible to any one who possesses a moderate knowledge of drawing the human figure, I recommended my efforts to the direction of God, and began to do what I had never before undertaken. Happily my success was such that the Emperor was very well satisfied. Thus I continued to paint till the month of April, when his Majesty was pleased to command that I should betake myself to engraving.

It is the custom that all who enter the service of the monarch should make him some present. Not to be wanting in this duty, we three of the Propaganda presented our offering, which con-

sisted of about thirty articles of various kinds, the greater part of which he accepted. The presents consisted of medicines, liqueurs, confectionery, and similar things.

The Emperor sent annually to the European missionaries in Peking a good supply of venison, hares, pheasants, fish, and deer-sinews, as a new year's gift. This was also done for the present year, with an express command that we three should receive our due share. Having mentioned deer-sinews, I must add that they are collected, dried, and preserved for a long time in small bundles as an article of food. When they are to be eaten, they are first softened in water, and then cooked. They form a dish which occupies the second place of honour at a Chinese table, the dish prized beyond all others consisting of swallows' nests, which are found in the rocks and mountains of certain islands near Canton. These nests are not composed of mud, like those in our country, but of a kind of white paste, which, though tasteless in itself, on being prepared with broth and condiments, acquires a taste extremely delightful to the Chinese palate. The flesh of dogs forms the dish held next in estimation by the Chinese, and these animals are therefore kept and fed for their tables.

Having mentioned the Chinese new year, which is called Chin-yue, it may be proper to add that the Chinese calculate their year by the moon, and not, as we do, by the sun. They begin it with the new moon, which falls upon the 15th degree of Aquarius, answering to the 5th of February. They count twelve months, one having twenty-nine days, and the other thirty; but every five years they correct this lunar year by adding a month, and then they arrive at the same point as those who calculate by the sun. Days are counted from one midnight to another, and are divided into twelve parts, so that one of their hours is equal to two of ours.

The commencement of the year in China reminded me of the carnival amongst us, for it is celebrated in the same manner with games, feasts, theatrical representations, and other amusements. A few days before this festive period begins, the tribunals are closed, and sealed with the imperial seal, and are not re-opened till a few days after its termination. Idols painted upon pasteboard are affixed to the doors of the houses; and the quantity of

fireworks displayed at this time, in all parts of China, is truly astonishing. It may indeed be affirmed, without exaggeration, that on the night in which the old year terminates, and the new year begins, there is more gunpowder consumed in China than throughout all Europe during the whole twelve months. On the last evening of the old year, children kneel down before their parents, younger brothers before the elder, and servants before their masters, performing all the ceremonies which the custom of the country requires, and which consist of bows and prostrations too tedious for description. These rites are also observed between husbands and wives, and amongst the various grades of the female sex. The same homage which is rendered by children to their parents, the latter offer before the portraits of their deceased ancestors. All this is done in strict observance of an ancient custom of the country, namely, the profound reverence of the young towards the aged; and it is done with such superstitious exactness, that for any one who has not been a witness, as I have been, it is not easy to believe, or even to comprehend.

One day as I was talking in my own house with a mandarin who had come to pay me a visit, his son arrived from a distant part of the empire upon some business relating to the family. When he came in we were seated, but he immediately went down upon one knee before his father, and in this position continued to speak for about a quarter of an hour. I did not move from my chair, till, by the course of conversation, I discovered who the person was, when I suddenly arose, protesting to the mandarin that I would stand unless he allowed his son to sit down also. A lengthened contest ensued, the father saying that he would quit his seat if I continued to stand; I myself declaring that it was impossible for me to sit while his son was kneeling; and the son protesting that before his father he must remain on his knees. At last, however, I overcame every scruple, and the mandarin signified to his son by a sign that he might be seated. He instantly obeyed, but he retreated to a corner of the room, where he timidly seated himself upon the edge of a chest. A year after this, the son again came to visit me, having now become a mandarin himself. I offered him the seat of honour which was due to him, but he refused it, saying that it did not become him to take the same seat which, as I might remember, his father

had occupied the year before. Accordingly, when an emperor dies, his son never sits upon the same throne, but upon that which had been used by his grandfather.

Not only are children thus submissive to their parents, but, as before observed, younger brothers to the elder. Being one day out of Peking in attendance upon the Emperor, I was visited by a boy of about twelve or thirteen years of age, accompanied by his brother, who was a child of about five or six years old, very lively and interesting. I asked the latter several questions, which he answered with so much intelligence that I gave him a handkerchief; but no sooner was it offered than he withdrew his hands, and put them behind him in sign of refusal. I asked him what he meant, when he replied, "Ko-ko," that is, "elder brother." I then desired his brother to permit him to take it, and a nod from him was sufficient for the gay and joyous child, who instantly took the gift and returned thanks, as the common people in China do to persons of high rank, by kneeling down before me, and performing the Ko-tow, which is an inclination of the head down to the ground.

I may add that the Chinese women live entirely shut up by themselves in a remote apartment of their houses. Among persons of rank they are seldom allowed to go out, unless it be during the rejoicings of the new year, and even then they are shut up in sedans. They are indeed kept so strictly that they are not permitted to speak even with the father or the brothers of their husbands, much less with their uncles, or any other man, however close may be the relationship. Upon the occasion of the new year, the wife goes with her husband to perform the above-mentioned ceremonies and homage before her father-in-law and her own parents. She also performs these duties on the birthdays of the same relatives; and except on these days, her father-in-law is not allowed either to speak to her or enter her chamber. And here I will not omit the description of a practice which, while it proves the excellent social order of the Chinese, caused me to smile when I heard of it. If a man, for careless conduct or any other fault, considers it his duty to correct his daughter-in-law, as he cannot, according to the custom of the country, either enter her room or speak to her, and much less beat her, he summons his son before him, and after re-

proaching him with the faults of his wife, he bids him prostrate himself, and inflicts a severe flogging upon him. The son then rises upon his knees, and, touching the ground with his forehead, thanks his father for the castigation; after which he goes to his wife, and repeats the correction exactly, giving her the same number of blows that he received from his father.

From their inordinate jealousy arose the custom of crippling the feet of the women, in order to render walking a torment, and induce them to remain at home. I was informed by Chinese that the first who discovered this stratagem was one of their ancient emperors, who purposely hinted that nothing was more beautiful in a woman than to have the smallest feet possible. This imperial opinion being made public throughout China, every husband desired that his wife should be in the fashion, and mothers sought to secure to their daughters an imaginary beauty which it was found could be procured by art. Accordingly, at the tender age of three months, female infants have their feet bound so tightly that the growth of this part of the body is entirely stopped, and they cannot walk without hobbling and limping; and if upon any occasion they endeavour to quicken their pace, they are in danger of falling at every step. Even when walking at a slow pace, they find it impossible to balance their bodies upon a support so small and disproportionate, and are consequently obliged to walk like ducks, waddling about from right to left. In cases of marriage, the parties not being able to see each other, it is customary to send the exact dimensions of the lady's foot to her intended, instead of sending him her portrait, as we do in Europe. In this particular, indeed, their taste is perverted to such an extraordinary degree, that I knew a physician who lived with a woman with whom he had no other intercourse but that of viewing and fondling her feet.

At the beginning of the new year, friends and acquaintances visit each other, leaving their names written on red cards, which are called Tia-zoo. It is worthy of remark that, although the person visited be at home, he may order his servant to say that he is not, without giving any offence to the visitor—every one wishing at this time to enjoy himself at his leisure with his dearest relations and friends.

The mandarins, all the year round, dress plainly, and always

in the same colours, wearing a purple or black spencer, and a gown, either drab, buff, or some other quiet colour. Red and yellow they never wear, these two colours being prohibited as belonging to the imperial family. During the festal season, however, and on the Emperor's birthday, the mandarins are clothed in robes richly embroidered in gold, each bearing the peculiar badge of his rank. The military mandarins are distinguished by the dragon, and the mandarins of learning and science by the bird, which they wear embroidered upon their breasts. Thus splendidly arrayed, they go to the palace to pay their homage to the Emperor, whom, however, they do not see; but assembling in vast numbers in a great open court, they perform their genuflexions and prostrations while he remains seated upon his throne in the great hall.

I witnessed this ceremony several times, and must say that it was very splendid and imposing. The same sort of homage was also paid by all the Europeans, but separately, in another part of the palace, and never in company with the mandarins.

CHAPTER XI.

Sacrifice to Heaven—Fireworks—The Emperor's Palace near Peking—Landscape Gardening—Chinese Flattery.

ONE morning, upon my going to the Palace as usual, I received an order from the Emperor to attend him at Chan-choon-yuen, a country residence about three miles from Peking, to which his Majesty frequently repaired, and spent from five to six months in the year. In obedience to this command, I immediately set out for that place with Father Jartou, who was assigned to me as an interpreter; and on our arrival we were lodged close to the imperial palace, in the house of Ttong-kew-kew, the emperor's uncle, who was ordered to provide for our maintenance. His Majesty moreover every day sent me a horse to ride; but as it was vicious and untamed, I left it for my attendant, so as not to expose my life to danger, and made use of another which I kept at my own expense. In addition to this, I was obliged to find myself in clothing and other necessaries out of the annual allowance of about forty pounds which I received from the Propaganda. The maintenance and the horse were granted to those Europeans who were in immediate attendance on the Emperor; the others who resided in Peking, although also in his Majesty's service, were only allowed coals, rice, and other articles, amounting to about twenty pounds a-year.

Shortly afterwards we accompanied his Majesty to Peking, where he remained three days, for the celebration of the solemn sacrifice to heaven, worshipped by the literary sect, of which the Emperor is the head. For this purpose two splendid temples are erected in Peking and Nanking, and in these the Emperor alone is entitled to sacrifice, in the name of the whole of his people. If by any chance he is prevented from performing this function, his place is supplied by magistrates of the highest

rank. Any other person attempting to do the same commits the crime of high treason, and is punished accordingly.

In these temples the sacrifices consist of the immolation of vast numbers of sheep and oxen, accompanied by a variety of ceremonies. The Chinese prepare for these sacrifices by fasting, bathing, continence, and eating no flesh of animals slain during the fast, though that of animals killed before may be eaten.

Upon our return to Chan-choon-yuen, we were all invited by the Emperor to witness the display of fireworks annually made to celebrate the new year.. In the evening therefore we all assembled in a large open space within the enclosure of the imperial gardens. The Emperor was present, together with his ladies, but concealed from public view. The grand spectacle commenced with what appeared to be a great fountain of fire rising out of the ground. While this was burning, a great chest was raised into the air to the height of nearly one hundred feet, and from thence it let down a splendid wheel of fire. This was no sooner out than a great column descended from the chest to the earth, consisting of an infinite number of little stars, and accompanied by four other columns formed of paper lanterns, all illuminated within. This beautiful sight lasted a considerable time, when another burning fountain appeared, nearly similar to the last; then a variety of columns of different shapes and colours, which also continued some time, keeping the spectators in a state of enchantment, all the Europeans admitting that they had never seen any thing so admirable in their own countries. This part of the spectacle was succeeded by a pyrotechnic exhibition, which the Chinese call *the war*, being a discharge of numberless rockets, which move in opposite directions, and then strike against some boards, producing a noise exactly similar to that of arrows shot from two contending armies. While this was going on, flaming fountains arose out of the earth in various directions, wheels and girandoles of fire were in motion on all sides, and the uproar was completed by continued and powerful reports like volleys of artillery. Fireworks, more or less splendid according to circumstances, are also exhibited on this occasion at the seats of persons of rank, for the amusement and diversion of the ladies, and the lower orders in general are particularly fond of this amusement.

The Emperor's country residence, called Chan-choon-yuen, which signifies "eternal spring," was built by Kang-hy himself for his recreation. It is situated in a plain, and surrounded by other mansions, all of which are enclosed within walls, and inhabited by his sons and the nobility. The entrances to this palace and its grounds are always guarded by Tartar soldiers, who allow none to pass but the eunuchs, and those to whom permission has been granted, in which case their names are written down upon tablets. On arriving at the gate, those who are not known are asked Ko-poo-pee, signifying, what is your name? and if the name they give is inserted upon the tablets, they are permitted to enter. After going through a kind of open hall, another gate is reached, where some eunuchs write upon a large white board the names of those who go in, and efface them with a damp cloth when they come out. In this manner they know whether any stranger stops in the palace after a certain hour in the evening, when no one is permitted to remain but eunuchs. The same precaution is taken in the imperial palaces at Peking and Je-hol, in consequence of the excessive jealousy with which the Emperor's ladies are guarded.

This, as well as the other country residences which I have seen in China, is in a taste quite different from the European; for whereas we seek to exclude nature by art, levelling hills, drying up lakes, felling trees, bringing paths into a straight line, constructing fountains at a great expense, and raising flowers in rows, the Chinese on the contrary, by means of art, endeavour to imitate nature. Thus in these gardens there are labyrinths of artificial hills, intersected with numerous paths and roads, some straight, and others undulating; some in the plain and the valley, others carried over bridges and to the summit of the hills by means of rustic work of stones and shells. The lakes are interspersed with islets upon which small pleasure-houses are constructed, and which are reached by means of boats or bridges. To these houses, when fatigued with fishing, the Emperor retires accompanied by his ladies. The woods contain hares, deer, and game in great numbers, and a certain animal resembling the deer, which produces musk. Some of the open spaces are sown with grain and vegetables, and are interspersed with plots of fruit trees and flowers. Wherever a convenient situation offers,

lies a house of recreation, or a dwelling for the eunuchs. There is also the seraglio, with a large open space in front, in which once a month a fair is held for the entertainment of the ladies; all the dealers being the eunuchs themselves, who thus dispose of articles of the most valuable and exquisite description.

The Emperor was just about to set out on a shooting and fishing excursion upon a lake in the plains of Peking, and all the Europeans came from the capital to wish the monarch a pleasant journey. In this, as indeed in every other similar instance, we delivered our message to the mandarins on our knees, and they then conveyed it to their master. Upon the Emperor's return I again went to Je-hol, when his Majesty inquired whether I had been every day with the painters, what I had done, and whether I had made any progress in the Chinese language. I replied that I had been daily at the palace, and stated what I had painted. With respect to the language, he was informed that I made myself understood partly by words and partly by signs, and that when these were not sufficient, I drew what I meant. Upon hearing this, he commanded that I should no longer have an interpreter, that I might thus be obliged to express my wants in Chinese. and so learn the language more quickly. The Emperor further ordered that Don Pedrini should come and lodge in the house of Tton-kew-kew, for the purpose of tuning the cymbals and spinets, which his Majesty had in great numbers in all his palaces. When it was stated that Pedrini did not understand the language, he replied that was of no consequence, as cymbals were tuned with the hands, and not with the tongue. However, he afterwards assigned Father Parrenin as interpreter to Pedrini.

The Emperor supposed himself to be an excellent musician, and a still better mathematician; but though he had a taste for the sciences and other acquirements in general, he knew nothing of musie, and scarcely understood the first elements of mathematics. There was a cymbal or a spinet in almost every apartment, but neither he nor his ladies could play upon them: sometimes indeed with one of his fingers he touched a note, which was enough, according to the extravagant flattery practised at the court of China, to throw the by-standers into ecstasies of admiration, as I myself have often witnessed. I must say

that I was not a little surprised to find how Kang-hy, who was really a man of enlarged understanding, believed all the exaggerated praises of his courtiers, and was childishly vain. This was perhaps to be attributed to the flattery that had been continually lavished upon him since the eighth year of his age, when he began to reign.

The Emperor one day saw the portrait of a Tartar, which he had ordered me to draw, and he said it was a good likeness. He then commanded Pedrini to play on the cymbals, and also expressed himself much pleased with the performance. As a sign of his satisfaction, he afterwards sent us some eatables, a favour which he subsequently often repeated.

CHAPTER XII.

Survey of China, Tartary, and Corea—Order to engrave—Fall from a Horse—Tartar Surgeon—Water Cure.

For many years past the Emperor had despatched several Jesuits into the different provinces of China, with the injunction that they should make a correct survey of them. Wishing that Tartary should be equally surveyed, he confided the task to Father Jartou, assigning him Father Fabri as an assistant.

The expense attending this undertaking was immense, for the whole of the vast empire of China, Tartary, and nearly thirty tributary principalities and kingdoms, including Corea, were to be surveyed; the longitude being measured by means of long chains, and the latitude with mathematical instruments. This operation required the services of numerous individuals, superintended by many mandarins, and lasted fourteen years. The kingdom of Corea, however, and that of Thibet, could not be measured with much exactness; for the Coreans being extremely jealous of strangers, would not admit Europeans; and this part of the business was consequently executed by a mandarin, purposely instructed by the Jesuits, and then sent thither by the Emperor, under pretext of an embassy: even then they watched every movement of the mandarin so closely, that he could not take a step without being observed by the guards, who never left him, and wrote down all he said or did. Thus, being unable to measure the longitude with a line, he could only calculate the miles by the hour. This ambassador, with whom I was intimately acquainted, informed me that he had only succeeded in taking the sun's altitude by making them believe that the instrument he used was a sun-dial, and that he stopped to look at it in order to ascertain the time. Although Thibet had been nearly conquered by the Emperor, it was still governed by the Lamas: his Majesty would not, therefore, for political reasons,

send thither any other persons than two Lamas, but these had been previously instructed by the Jesuits.

The Emperor had long desired to have some one in his service who could engrave the geographical map above mentioned. He accordingly inquired whether Pedrini, Tilisch, and I understood any thing besides music, mathematics, and painting. They replied in the negative; and I said that I knew something of optics, and also the theory, though not the practice, of the art of engraving on copper with aquafortis. His Majesty was highly pleased to hear that, although I had not practised the art of engraving, I was ready to attempt it, and he immediately ordered that I should begin to engrave. In the shortest time possible, I, with a point, traced a landscape upon a plate coated over with lamp-black, as a preparation for the aquafortis; and I had scarcely done this when the Emperor desired to see it. As subjects on plates thus prepared present a very handsome appearance, the Emperor was delighted with it, and commanded his Chinese painters to draw a landscape, in order that I might afterwards engrave it. As soon as it was done it was shown, together with the original, to his Majesty, who expressed considerable delight and surprise at finding the copy so perfectly similar to the original, without this being impaired; for this was the first time that he had seen an engraving on copper, the Chinese making theirs by fixing the drawing on a block of wood, and cutting them both at once with a chisel.

To avoid the heat of summer, which is always excessive in Peking, the Emperor Kang-hy had been accustomed to make excursions, by land and water, to the south of China. But as this diversion caused an expense which was extremely burdensome to his subjects, he had built himself a country residence at Je-hol, in Tartary, where he now usually resided from the beginning of May till the end of September, with an escort of about thirty thousand men, besides a great multitude of people who resorted thither for the love of gain or pleasure. I was commanded to follow him thither, together with Father Tilisch, in the capacity of a mathematician; Father Rod, in that of a surgeon; Father Parrenin, and Don Pedrini, as interpreters. We all set out together on horseback, but, before we were out of the city, my horse slipped, and I was instantly thrown, re-

ceiving frightful wounds in my head and other parts of my body. As my companions did not dare to stop, they recommended me to the care of two heathens, and left me fainting in the street, where I remained in this state for a considerable time.

When I recovered my senses, I found myself in a house, but every thing appeared dark and indistinct, and I felt as if I had fallen from my horse two months before. The Emperor sent me a Tartar surgeon, for he and his court were fully persuaded that for falls Tartar surgeons were better than Europeans. And, to confess the truth, although the mode of treatment was of a barbarous description, and some of the remedies appeared useless, I was cured in a very short time. This surgeon made me sit up in my bed, placing near me a large basin filled with water, in which he put a thick piece of ice, to reduce it to a freezing-point. Then stripping me to the waist, he made me stretch my neck over the basin, and, with a cup, he continued for a good while to pour the water on my neck. The pain caused by this operation upon those nerves which take their rise from the pia-mater was so great and insufferable, that it seemed to me unequalled. The surgeon said that this would stanch the blood and restore me to my senses, which was actually the case; for in a short time my sight became clear, and my mind resumed its powers.

He next bound my head with a band, drawn tight by two men, who held the ends, while he struck the intermediate part vigorously with a piece of wood, which shook my head violently, and gave me dreadful pain. This, if I remember rightly, he said was to set the brain, which he supposed had been displaced. It is true, however, that after this second operation my head felt more free.

A third operation was now performed, during which he made me, still stripped to the waist, walk in the open air, supported by two persons; and, while thus walking, he unexpectedly threw a bowl of freezing cold water over my breast. As this caused me to draw my breath with great vehemence, and as my chest had been injured by the fall, it may be easily imagined what were my sufferings under this infliction. The surgeon informed me that, if any rib had been dislocated, this sudden and hard breathing would restore it to its natural position.

The next proceeding was not less painful and extravagant.

The operator made me sit upon the ground; then, assisted by two men, he held a cloth upon my mouth and nose till I was nearly suffocated. "This," said the Chinese Esculapius, "by causing a violent heaving of the chest, will force back any rib that may have been bent inwards."

The wound in the head not being deep, he healed it by stuffing it with burnt cotton. He then ordered that I should continue to walk much, supported by two persons; that I should not sit long, nor be allowed to sleep before ten o'clock at night, at which time, and not before, I should take a little hifan, that is, thin rice soup. This continued walking caused me to faint several times; but this had been foreseen by the surgeon, who had warned me not to be alarmed. He assured me that these walks in the open air, while fasting, would prevent the blood from settling on the chest, where it might corrupt. These remedies were barbarous and excruciating; but I am bound in truth to confess that in seven days I was so completely restored as to be able to resume my journey into Tartary.

On the very morning that I fell from my horse the Emperor three times sent a commission, consisting of two mandarins, three secretaries, and two physicians, to examine me upon the subject of the accident. I constantly affirmed in my answers that the horse was excellent, and that I had fallen from my ignorance of horsemanship. I thus saved from punishment both the officer who had brought me the horse and the mandarins who had been charged with the arrangements of our journey. These poor men had lived in the greatest dread, fearing that some complaint might escape me, which, however slight, would cause their destruction. For this reason they now conceived a great affection for me, and upon different occasions they rendered me important services.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Great Wall—Mountain near Je-hol—Attempts to engrave—Description of Je-hol—The Emperor's Country Life.

As his Majesty was now aware that I could not ride, he ordered that as soon as I was in a fit state to set out I should travel in a carriage. In this journey I passed the famous wall which divides China from Tartary, and well deserves to be considered as a wonder of the world. The Chinese say that it is more than ten thousand lee in length, which is equal to more than three thousand miles; but I have been assured that it does not exceed fifteen hundred. Its course is not always even, sometimes descending into deep valleys, at others rising to the top of lofty mountains. Its height constantly varies, being much greater in certain situations, especially in the valleys, whilst in some places it does not rise higher than fifteen feet. In some parts this wall is built entirely of stone, in others of brick, in others of stone and brick mixed; and such is its breadth, that carriages can drive along the top with ease. I was informed that the interior of the wall was filled up with earth, and that it was built of that breadth not only for convenience in time of war, but also to facilitate the transport of materials when it was building, as it would otherwise have been impossible to carry it over steep and precipitous spots. It would in fact have been beneath the advanced civilization of the Chinese to build a national barrier, passing over rocks, ravines, and mountains, without providing a passage for horse and foot soldiers.

Upon examining this work I was greatly astonished to find that although it was built more than eighteen hundred years ago, it is still so perfect that it does not appear to have been finished above a century. It is decayed only in a few places, and these dilapidations the Tartars, who are now in possession of China, do not trouble themselves to repair. They only preserve and

defend the gates through which there is much traffic. Under the native Chinese government one million of soldiers were employed to guard and garrison this marvellous work.

Before arriving at the wall we had entered a country diversified with hills and plains; but on the other side of the gate nothing was to be seen but mountains, and the road lay through valleys and defiles, which appeared walled between the heights on either side. Until we had reached Je-hol I did not observe a single Tartar habitation, but only some inns erected by the Chinese for the accommodation of travellers since the Emperor had removed his residence thither. Besides these, at intervals of about fifteen miles, there are palaces surrounded by walls, which are used by the Emperor and his concubines on his way to Je-hol and back. Among these mountains the mornings were so cold that it was necessary to wear furs; but when the sun had risen the heat became insupportable. Near Je-hol I one day had the pleasure of ascending a mountain higher than the rest, and was much surprised at the extraordinary appearance of the summits around, which looked like the waves of a boundless sea—a spectacle, perhaps, without a parallel in the whole world. From this situation I also beheld one of those sports of nature at once so unaccountable and so stupendous, which I have described in the journey from Canton to Peking; but this was much more lofty, and of a different form, resembling the fabulous club of Hercules.

After twenty days' journey we arrived safely at Je-hol. On the following day I went to the palace to return thanks for the surgical assistance sent me by the Emperor, which I did by means of the Ko-tow, this ceremony being unavoidable whenever the Emperor has conferred any favour, however trifling. Upon this occasion I was given to understand that I must finish the copper-plate upon which I was employed, and immediately after take off prints from it. Of the art of engraving with aquafortis I knew no more than what I had learned in a single lesson given me by an artist at Rome in compliance with the wishes of a friend who, as if by providential foresight, had earnestly recommended me to learn it.

I now inquired for the ingredients necessary to make aquafortis, that is, strong white wine vinegar, sal ammoniac, and

verdigris. The sal ammoniac could be procured in abundance, but the verdigris was greatly inferior to ours, and the vinegar, not being made with grape wine, but with sugar and other articles, was not fit for my purpose. Thus, owing to the inefficiency of the aquafortis, the lines were very shallow, which, added to the badness of the ink, caused the prints to be of the worst possible description. It cost me no small amount of labour before I could bring this kind of engraving to any degree of perfection.

To make the ink tartar was necessary, but of this a few pounds only could be found in the imperial drug-house, and I was obliged to employ other materials. After many experiments, however, I produced a tolerable specimen.

In the construction of a press I was again encountered by innumerable difficulties, having never even seen one but once, when I paid no particular attention to it. I now ordered one to be made, having the lower cylinder fixed and the upper one moveable. In consequence of this, when it was worked the effect produced was of the worst description, and drew forth the laughter and jests of the eunuchs, mandarins, and many other persons belonging to the court, so that my trouble and confusion were complete. Recollecting, however, the high purpose for which I had come to China, I contrived to bear all this with patience and good humour.' His Majesty having seen the prints which I had engraved, was kind enough to excuse them, though they were very pale. He even declared they were excellent; and this he always continued to do, never finding fault with what I produced.

Besides the annoyances already mentioned, I had to endure other interruptions, proceeding from envious persons, amongst whom were some mandarins, who, being displeased at my having gained the Emperor's favour, endeavoured in various ways to bring me into disgrace. Amongst many other malevolent actions, having seen that my work was not at first very successful, they employed a letter-cutter to engrave a plate with the graver: he transferred the outlines tolerably by following closely the design of the painter; but as he did not understand the harmony of light and shade, when the prints were drawn off his plate they presented a wretched appearance. The mandarin Chow, who had the chief care of the Europeans, was so disap-

pointed and incensed, that he tore the prints to pieces, and ordered the poor man to be bastinadoed.

Perceiving that I had made some progress in the art of engraving, his Majesty resolved to have prints of thirty-six different views taken from the residence of Je-hol built by himself. Accordingly I went there with the Chinese painters whom he had ordered to make the drawings, and I thus had an opportunity to see the whole of the grounds, a distinguished favour which had never yet been conferred on any other European.

The residence of Je-hol is in Tartary, about one hundred and fifty miles distant from Peking. It is situated in a plain surrounded with mountains, whence flows a torrent, which, though usually dry, swells fearfully in time of rain or thaw. A few years before, when its destructive character was not yet known, and before the present houses were built, it carried away by a sudden overflow in the night an encampment of many thousand persons. A hill rises gently from the plain, its side studded with buildings destined for the Emperor's followers, and a copious spring of water, after winding round a variety of delightful slopes, forms a noble lake containing a remarkable quantity of fish.

To an admirable disposition of the ground, nature has here added the charms of a luxuriant vegetation. Throughout the vast extent of those regions of Tartary a tree is rarely seen. At Je-hol, however, the plain, the slopes, and the hill are thickly covered with foliage; and the filberts, corianders, pears, and apples, though growing wild, have so delicious a flavour that they are served on the Emperor's table. The plain, slopes, and hill are so extensive that it took me an hour to make the tour of the inclosure on horseback.

Various habitations, more or less large according to their use, are erected here and there in different spots about the grounds: one for his Majesty; behind this, one for his concubines, who lodge three or four in each room; another for his mother, others for his queens, and others for the eunuchs. There is also a Miao, or temple of idols, which is constantly attended by a great number of Taou-she, or priests of the devil, who are all eunuchs, dressed in yellow. It is to this Miao that the Emperor goes with his ladies to make sacrifices and adorations during his stay in Je-hol.

There are, besides, many cottages and summer-houses: these summer-houses are built in different forms, but all in good taste, and very clean. They are provided with silk curtains on all sides, so as to prevent observation from without; and have seats all around, with a table or bed in the centre. These cottages and summer-houses are for the service of the Emperor, who retires thither with his queens and concubines; for at Je-hol he rarely sees any one except his ladies and eunuchs. With his ladies on foot around him, he is carried about the grounds by eunuchs, in an open chair; with them he sails in little boats, fishing in the canals and the lakes; with them he eats—always, however, alone, upon a raised platform, whilst they take their food seated on the floor, each at her little table. Even when studying he is surrounded by his favourite queens, as I myself have often seen.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Emperor's Retinue—The Little Hunt—Stag-hunting—Tiger-hunting—Wrestling and Archery—Silence in the Camp.

In the month of September the Emperor usually indulged in stag-hunting; and this year, 1711, in order that we Europeans might witness the sport, he took us all five with him. We set out on the 11th for Kara-kotton, an ancient city which had been destroyed by the Chinese when they expelled the Western Tartars. Before building the residence of Je-hol, above described, his Majesty used to spend the summer months in this place, where, besides his palace, several edifices are still extant, partly erected by him for his suite, and partly by the Chinese, who repair thither for trade. Although it had been abandoned by the Emperor, it still contained a considerable population.

Very early on the 12th we resumed our journey, and, after travelling about twenty miles, we came to a place called Lan-chee-siao-ing, where we passed the night under tents. Beyond this spot there are no other habitations but the palaces intended for the reception of the Emperor and his ladies. The rest of the company lodge in tents, which, from one of the neighbouring heights, form a noble sight, looking like the encampment of an army. Out of thirty thousand soldiers, which the Emperor had with him at Je-hol, only twelve thousand accompanied him to the hunt; but his retinue was so numerous that our party must have amounted to more than thirty thousand persons. On the slope of a hill a Miao had been erected long before the arrival of the Emperor; and the hill was surrounded with soldiers, who allowed no one to pass, because his Majesty was expected to alight with the ladies of his suite, as in fact he did before proceeding to his palace. The ladies he brought with him were in six carriages, three of which were yellow and three black, the former for the queens, the latter for the concubines. Those of

the crown-princes were in three carriages, one yellow and two black. Each carriage contained four ladies, seated in the Tartar fashion with their legs crossed. Wherever these women passed, everybody was obliged to pay them reverence, by quickly fleeing away and hiding themselves so that they might neither see them nor be seen: those who were not very active in the performance of this duty never failed to receive a good beating from the mandarins or eunuchs of the escort. We Europeans, however, were treated with less severity. It often happened that we met them in places where it was inconvenient to avoid them, and that, whilst the Chinese were driven away without mercy, we were not at all molested.

On the 13th we left Kara-kotton before daybreak, and proceeded to Poro-kotton, another ancient city, which had likewise been demolished by the Chinese. The following day was spent by the Emperor in fishing in a river flowing by. We then resumed our journey, and arrived at a place called Epakia, where his Majesty slept in a palace for the last time, as henceforth tents were the only accommodation on the road. About halfway stood three large circular tents, of white canvas, within a yellow inclosure of the same material. One of them was for the Emperor, another for the crown-prince, and the third for the ladies. There were, besides, some blue tents, of inferior quality, for the eunuchs. Here his Majesty stopped two hours, in the middle of the day, for dinner and repose: and at the place where we arrived in the evening we found other tents of the same description, and disposed in the same manner.

After another day's rest and one of travelling, on the afternoon of the 17th we began what they call the little hunt, which is for deer, hares, and pheasants. Hitherto, we Europeans had preceded the company about two hours' march—the Emperor intending that we should thus avoid the dust and confusion always produced by a whole army on horseback; now, however, to enable us to enjoy the sport, he ordered that we should march immediately after him, and keep within sight of him. We had come to a small plain covered with luxuriant verdure, where a number of soldiers formed a semicircle around the Emperor, who was a few steps in advance, followed by his family and suite, all armed with bows and arrows, and flanked by falconers.

As the circle advanced at a slow pace, innumerable pheasants, hares, and deer were seen to fly or run out of the grass and the bushes in all directions. Eagles, trained for the purpose, were let loose upon the deer; against the hares and pheasants arrows and hawks were employed. This continued for about an hour, when we came to the end of the plain, and were obliged to proceed in search of another spot across those valleys and hills of Tartary. Then, when we came to the other places adapted to the sport, this was repeated several times, and always in the same manner.

Having crossed several hills, we now arrived in an open place, skirted by verdant heights; and in the early morning the stag-hunt was begun, which being conducted in a manner quite different from ours, I shall here describe minutely. On this occasion the army consisted of twelve thousand soldiers, divided into two wings, one of which passed on towards the east, then turned northward, whilst the other proceeded to the west, then likewise turned in a northern direction. As they marched on, each man halted, so as to remain about a bow-shot distant from the next, till at length they surrounded the hills. Then, at a given word, in an instant they all advanced slowly towards the centre of the circle, driving the stags before them, and went on in this manner till one was not more than half a bow-shot distant from the other. Every alternate soldier now halted, and the next continuing to advance, two circles were formed, one being at a considerable distance from the other. After this they all moved in the same direction till the soldiers of the inner circle being so near as to shake hands, they divided again and formed a third circle; when, preserving their relative distances, they advanced again till the soldiers and horses of the innermost circle touched each other.

The inner or third circle was less than a bow-shot distant from the second, but the distance from this to the outer circle was much greater. The three circles having thus taken up their ultimate position, the Emperor entered into the centre, followed by the male part of his family and relatives, and surrounded by the best and most expert hunters, armed for his defence. The ladies were conducted into pavilions erected upon a neighbouring hill, where they could view the sport without being seen.

A similar situation was allotted to us, but we remained on horseback.

The signal being given, the Emperor himself opened the chase by killing with his arrows a good number of the multitude of stags thus surrounded; and when weary he gave permission to his sons and relations to imitate him. The stags, perceiving themselves hemmed in and slaughtered on all sides, attempted to escape by breaking through the circle; but the soldiers, being accustomed to this, instantly drove them back with shouts and the noise they produced by striking the leather housings of the horses with their stirrups. Many of the stags, however, urged by pain or fear, leaped over the horses, or forced a passage with their horns. The soldiers of the second circle then endeavoured to drive them back to the centre; but if they did not succeed, those of the third were permitted to kill the fugitives. Nor were the animals that chanced to escape from the soldiers entirely safe, for they could then be destroyed by any one who might happen to meet them.

Tigers generally make their abode in the most rugged and inaccessible mountains of Tartary; but they are sometimes found among these hills watching for deer and other prey. When it is discovered that there is more than one, the circles are immediately dissolved, the soldiers retire to the encampment with great precaution, and no further attempt at hunting is made there that year. If, however, no more than one of these ferocious animals has been observed, the soldiers dismount, and dividing into bands of five men each, they take up various positions, with lance in hand, instead of bows and arrows: being thus prepared, they let loose a number of dogs, not to hunt the beast, but to intimidate him by their barking, and drive him from his lair, which is very soon effected. When the tiger appears, the soldiers remain motionless, knowing it to be the nature of this beast to attack. Fixing his eyes, therefore, upon one of these groups of soldiers, he makes towards them at a quick pace, and when at a certain distance he instantly springs upon them. The five men, who with their eyes and lances fixed awaited his approach, receive him on the points of their weapons, which they force into his breast, and having with great dexterity thrown him down, they quickly despatch him. I never had an opportunity of witnessing such an occurrence, but I was assured that no tiger, thus

discovered alone, had ever escaped; and that no soldier had ever been hurt by one. When, on the contrary, these groups have been attacked by more than one tiger, some have suffered; and, consequently, whenever more than one is discovered, the sport is immediately abandoned, and the company proceed to another quarter. There are great numbers of these beasts in that country, and the Tartars often hunt them in the manner described; and afterwards sell the skins in Peking, at about a tahel each, a Chinese coin equivalent to a crown.

As I have here spoken of stag and tiger hunting, I cannot leave the subject without noticing an extraordinary circumstance. The stag, being endowed with a sense of smell as exquisite as that of the dog, perceives the tiger by its strong scent, and instantly flies behind some hill, which, intercepting the current of wind, prevents his own scent from reaching the ravenous beast. Father Parrenin told me that, a few years before, as the hunting circle advanced, they had come to a slope sheltered from the wind, which was covered by such an immense multitude of stags as to appear of the colour of their skins. These stags were so terrified by the dreaded beast, that upon the approach of the men and horses they did not attempt to escape, but allowed themselves to be killed like a flock of sheep, rather than save themselves by flight. So great was the slaughter, that the Emperor, supposing that all the stags of the surrounding country had assembled upon that spot, commanded the circle to be opened, lest the race might be entirely destroyed.

The Emperor took part in another species of sport, unknown in Europe and less fatiguing. He set out by night with all the great company above mentioned, and when within two miles of the spot selected for the sport he left the army, and ascended to the top of a hill with six or seven hunters, clothed in stag-skins from head to foot. Here one of the hunters put on a kind of mask resembling a stag's head with horns, and concealed himself among the bushes in such a manner that at first sight he might be taken for a stag, while the Emperor and the others crouched down close by—all being armed with good guns, to the ends of which were fixed small pieces of stag's horn. The stags are followed by several does, which they will not allow any other stag to approach. Early in the morning they instinctively raise a cry of challenge; the other stags arrive, and a fight ensues,

which continues till one is slain, when the victor takes possession of his rival's herd of does. One of the hunters now blows an instrument which, both in shape and sound, very much resembles those with which our herdsmen call the swine, and which closely imitates the belling of the stag. At this sound the stags hasten to the hill, and seeking their supposed rival they come within gun-shot, and meet with their death. The Emperor had the first shot, and if he missed, the stag was quickly killed by the huntsmen. It happened one day that at the sound of the horn not one stag only but two appeared at the same time within shot, and began to fight. One of them was soon hit by the Emperor, and the other, instead of running away, strove to finish his dying rival, thus giving his Majesty the opportunity of killing him also with the second shot. The sport lasts only about two hours, as later in the day it would have no effect; and every morning from five to ten stags were thus killed.

This was the sport in which the Emperor Kang-hy indulged every year in the months of September and October, changing the place nearly every time, in order to find a greater quantity of game. If it happened during this period that his Majesty was deprived of his diversion, either by his superstitious prostrations to the new moon or any other impediment, he was not idle on that account. He then came out of his pavilions, and, sitting upon a carpet on some elevated situation, he either watched the dexterous efforts of his Tartar wrestlers, or commanded some of his grandchildren, and other great military mandarins, to practise archery before him; and sometimes he would even enter the lists against his third son, who managed the bow nearly as well as himself. Although our party amounted to about thirty thousand persons—a number which, under all circumstances, must produce great noise and confusion—yet when the Emperor was encamped, and the sun had set, the silence enforced was perfectly astonishing. One day Pedrini and myself having returned to the encampment after sunset, my friend ordered a servant to call our conductor, to whom he wanted to speak. The poor fellow resisted for some time, but being pressed by his master he at last obeyed; and scarcely had he opened his mouth before he was seized by the soldiers of the guard, and very severely bastinadoed.

CHAPTER XV.

Chinese Letters—Imperial Condescension—The Christians in Danger—Conversions—Strict Discipline—The Crown Prince deposed—The Emperor's Sixtieth Birth-day.

DURING our stay at Chan-choon-yuen I presented to his Majesty some prints of a Chinese landscape, drawn by one of the imperial painters, which I had executed with the graver. The Emperor was highly pleased with them, and ordered me to engrave some letters of the Chinese alphabet in the same manner. Considering that there is scarcely any Chinese writing which does not contain some superstitious expression which we Christians can neither engrave nor print, I did two letters of the Chinese alphabet and two of ours, the latter with every possible care, the others as badly as I could; and when I submitted them to his Majesty I observed that the European letters were well executed because I could write them, but that the Chinese were bad because, being unable to write them, I could not engrave them. My excuse was kindly received, and thus, by the grace of God, I avoided the danger of contributing to the propagation of error.

About this time the Emperor gave to Fathers Cardoso, Tilisch, Pedrini, and myself, four superb why-ttaos of choice silk, lined with ermine, and worth at least twenty pounds each. With the exception of another garment intended to preserve me from the rain, this was the only thing I received from the monarch during the thirteen long years that I toiled for him. Several of the old missionaries who had spent their lives in his service told me that he had never made them any present at all. His Majesty imagined that he obliged us Europeans exceedingly by allowing us to have the honour of working for him, as he clearly intimated to us several times.

A few days after, the Emperor set out for Tartary, but without taking any Europeans with him, which gave us no small apprehension. On endeavouring to discover the cause of this novelty,

we found that a high law officer had presented to the Board of Rites a very elaborate libel against our holy religion, and that his Majesty had left us all behind lest we might trouble him with memorials and petitions. Having found this out, the missionaries in Peking, who derived no other advantage from their labours than the good graces of the Emperor and the courtiers, now employed all their interest in the defence of our faith. In consequence of their exertions, the Board of Rites was led to declare that the Europeans had fixed their residence in China with his Majesty's positive permission; that they had rendered themselves useful to the empire in the formation of the calendar, the manufacture of arms, the war against the Muscovites, and in numerous other ways; and that, as they had never offended against any one, it would not be right to forbid them the use of their own religion on the mere assertion that it was false; concluding, that those who were furnished with the imperial Piao should not be molested, and that those who had none might be banished to Macao. This declaration was immediately sent to the Emperor, who with his own hand wrote at the bottom of it, "I approve." When he returned from Tartary we all repaired to the palace to thank him by word of mouth and in writing, besides the usual nine ko-tows, or prostrations.

In the meantime I continued to improve in the art of engraving; and when his Majesty saw some copies of the last print I had produced, he said they were "pan-pei," which means a treasure. On this occasion he commanded me to engrave the forty views of Je-hol which he had ordered his painters to take, intending to get them bound in volumes with some poetical compositions, and then make presents of them to the King and Princes of Tartary. He also inquired whether I would take two Chinese pupils on the condition that they should not teach my art to any one else. On my answering that I wished nothing so well as to please his Majesty, he immediately sent to Peking for two young men, whom I instructed with tolerable success, together with some others who came afterwards. Ever since the day of my arrival at Je-hol I had been frequently visited by a youth of good family, whom I had done everything in my power to convert. With the excessive civility of a Chinese, he always affected to be convinced by my arguments, but the moment he

joined his friends he turned my efforts into ridicule, laughing with them heartily. I was informed of this, but nevertheless I did not cease to instil the word of God into his heart. One day he came to see me at the moment I was instructing two Chinese who had pressed me to teach them the dogmas of our faith, and he begged me to allow him to listen. To confess the truth, I was not much pleased with his presence, fearing that he might divert the others from the resolution they had formed of embracing the Christian faith; but not to offend him, I granted his request. I spoke for about three-quarters of an hour, proving the existence of God and the falsehood of idols; then by degrees explaining the principal mysteries of Christianity. After this they all earnestly entreated me to baptize them, which I did with infinite satisfaction, after having tried the firmness of their determination for some time.

The Emperor having decided to return from Je-hol to Peking, ordered us to precede him by four or five miles, so that we might avoid the confusion inseparable from the march of an army, with the thousands of waggons, mules, camels, and horses that transported the imperial baggage. The camels alone amounted to more than six hundred. With respect to these animals I may here remark that they are brought from Tartary, which abounds in them as well as in horses. I was however assured by those Europeans who had surveyed the whole of Chinese Tartary, when executing a map of that country, that they had never seen an ass or a mule there.

In the place at which we halted to sleep, we found houses constructed for the service of the Emperor; but before entering them his Majesty superstitiously commanded the lamas to bless them, and drive away the evil spirits. Every one expected to pass the great wall that evening, and stop at another place some miles farther, and accordingly many of the mandarins in attendance had passed the great barrier of the country, and erected pavilions where they supposed the Emperor would halt; but an order was soon issued that they should all return, and that, as they passed the gate of the great wall, the guards should write down their names, and immediately send a list to his Majesty. This was punctually executed, and many of the party were severely punished. Two of the mandarins, who were appointed to

take care of the Europeans, alleged that they had gone forward to recall the persons they had in charge, and the excuse was admitted. Another disguised himself in the dress of my servant, and not being discovered he escaped castigation. As the guards at the gate allowed no baggage to return, many were obliged to sleep on the bare ground, and others in the open air, at a time when in the morning the water and even the ground was frozen.

When we arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, the imperial residence near Peking, to our great terror we saw in the garden of that great palace eight or ten mandarins, and two eunuchs upon their knees, bare-headed, and with their hands tied behind them. At a small distance from them the sons of the Emperor were standing in a row, also with their heads bare, and their hands bound upon their breasts. Shortly after, the Emperor came out of his apartments in an open sedan, and proceeded to the place where the princes were undergoing punishment. On reaching the spot he broke out with the fury of a tiger, loading the heir-apparent with reproaches, and confined him to his own palace, together with his family and court. In a public manifesto he subsequently deposed the unfortunate prince as suspected of treason; and to prove to the nation his incapability of reigning, amongst other things he accused him of being addicted to an atrocious offence, which the laws of China, though promulgated by heathens, hold in the greatest abomination.

The Emperor could not remain long in the same place, and thus after a few days he left Chan-choon-yuen for Pa-chao, another mansion of enormous dimensions, with a park so abounding with stags, that they appear like flocks of sheep. Here it was that, in ancient times, the sovereigns of China enjoyed the pleasures of a country life; but the Emperor Kang-hy, after erecting the palace of Chan-choon-yuen, only repaired to Pa-chao once a year, to hunt the stag and other animals. After the chase, he returned to Peking to celebrate the solemn festival of the sixtieth year of his age; a period which in China is equivalent to our century.

On the fourth day of April, 1713, the chief mandarins from all parts of the empire arrived at Peking to assist at the celebration, and take part in the splendid rejoicings which were made upon this occasion. Every one offered to the sovereign gifts of

the rarest description, according to his rank and power. We Europeans, each contributing his share, made his Majesty a present consisting of European wine, Brazilian tobacco, which is the most esteemed in China, one pound of gum storax, a piece of the finest linen, two painted quilts from Coromandel, several white pocket handkerchiefs of the finest description trimmed with lace, four embroidered purses, various kinds of scissors, knives, and small padlocks, three pounds of tartar, a mathematical instrument, two pots of balsam, six bottles of confectionary, with twelve jars of preserved quinces, eight stones of gaspar antonic, saffron, bark, oils, and medicinal roots.

On arriving at the palace, we showed our offering to the mandarins, but they would not receive it until we first took away the medicinal articles, and reduced the whole to even numbers, declaring that on such a day it was an evil omen to offer to his Majesty an odd number, or articles of medicine. Having carried back our gift, we discussed among ourselves whether it would not be better to offer nothing at all than to subtract the medical articles, and reduce the whole to even numbers; but the opinion of the majority was, that in order to avoid giving offence, it was expedient to make the present. Upon this I withdrew, leaving the others to do what they liked, and they took away the medical articles and made the numbers even. We afterwards returned to the palace, where, kneeling as usual before the mandarins, and wishing his Majesty every happiness, we declared that we felt ashamed to present such trifles. The Emperor returned in answer that he felt much pleasure in receiving the expression of our good wishes, and out of all the above-named articles, he made choice of thirteen, which was considered as a great favour. From each of the mandarins he only accepted one or two things, refusing all the rest. His Majesty afterwards conferred a particular honour on me, by sending me a box of European colours, which had been presented to him by one of his courtiers. On this occasion the whole city of Peking wore an appearance of festivity. All were habited in gala dresses, banquets were given without end, fireworks discharged, and every kind of rejoicing carried on as at the new year. But that which above all things struck me with astonishment, was the spectacle exhibited upon the royal road from Chan-choon-yuen

to Peking, which is about three miles in length. This road was adorned on both sides with an artificial wall composed of mats, and entirely covered with silks of the most beautiful workmanship, while at certain distances were erected fanciful houses, temples, altars, triumphal arches, and theatres, in which musical dramas were represented. So great was the abundance of silk that we Europeans all agreed in thinking that no kingdom in Europe possessed so much. Public prayers were also delivered by the mandarins in the numerous temples of the capital, for the safety of the Emperor and the continuation of his line; and at the same time various prostrations and sacrifices were made before a picture representing the monarch.

It is a universal custom in China, that during such solemnities no one should pass on horseback before any temple, but that all should alight, and proceed on foot. Being ignorant of this practice, I one day nearly transgressed it, when on a sudden I was surrounded by soldiers, with whips in their hands, who called out loudly "Down, down!" I immediately understood what this meant; but as I would not take any part in their superstitious ceremonies, I turned back my horse and galloped away, to the great amusement of the gazing crowd. Fortunately for me every one could see by my beard that I was a European; for if I had been a Chinese, without giving me the least intimation to dismount, the guards would have subjected me at once to the severe discipline of their whips.

CHAPTER XVI.

Public Rejoicings—Provincial Deputations—Strawberries and Asparagus—The First Pupil—Regard of the Chinese for their Beards—Russian Priests.

On the 11th of the same month the Emperor went in state from Chan-choon-yuen to his palace in Peking, allowing every one to see him. On ordinary occasions his Majesty is always preceded by a great number of horsemen, who clear the streets entirely, causing all the houses and shops to be shut, and a canvas to be drawn before every opening, so that no one might see him. The same precautions are taken when the Emperor's ladies, or those of his sons, are about to pass. His Majesty generally comes forth on horseback, and the ladies are always conveyed in close carriages. Upon this celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's birth, the openings were not stopped nor the doors shut, nor were the people driven away. The streets and roads were now crowded with countless multitudes desirous of beholding their sovereign. He rode on horseback, wearing a robe covered with dragons, magnificently embroidered in gold, and having five claws, the five-clawed dragon being exclusively worn by the imperial family. He was preceded by about two thousand horse-soldiers, in splendid array, and immediately followed by the princes of the blood, who were succeeded by a great number of mandarins. After these came a large body of soldiers, marching in a promiscuous mass, without observing any order. We Europeans were disposed in a rank near a bridge at no great distance from the palace, where we awaited the arrival of his Majesty upon our knees. On passing by, he paid particular attention to each of us, and smilingly inquired which were those employed in drawing the map.

A vast number of aged but healthy men had been sent to

Peking from all the provinces. They were in companies, bearing the banner of their respective provinces. They also carried various other symbols and trophies, and being symmetrically drawn up along the streets through which the Emperor was to pass, they presented a very beautiful and uncommon appearance. Every one of these old men brought a present of some kind to the Emperor, which generally consisted of vases and other articles in bronze. His Majesty gave to each of them twelve silver tahel, a coin worth about five shillings, together with a gown of yellow silk, which is the imperial colour. They afterwards assembled all together in a place where the Emperor went to see them; and it was found that this venerable company amounted to four thousand in number. His Majesty was highly gratified with this spectacle; he inquired the age of many, and treated them all with the greatest affability and condescension. He even invited them all to a banquet, at which he made them sit in his presence, and commanded his sons and grandsons to serve them with drink. After this, with his own hand, he presented every one of them with something; to one who was the most aged of the whole assembly, being nearly a hundred and eleven years old, he gave a mandarin's suit complete, together with a staff, an inkstand, and other things.

Many compositions in verse and prose were produced on this auspicious occasion, and some of our missionaries humbly petitioned his Majesty for a copy of the collection to send to Europe, which he granted, commanding Father Bovet to translate them. In these poems divine titles and honours were given to Kang-hy, who was indeed held in such veneration throughout China, that he often received the appellation of *Fo*, a national deity universally adored, both by Tartars and Chinese. I myself very frequently heard him designated as the living *Fo*.

Don Pedrini had constructed a small organ, which being moved by clock-work played a tune whenever a spring was touched. He carried it to the palace, and requested the mandarin Chao to present it to the Emperor. But this courtier, perceiving that Pedrini was becoming a favourite, declined to receive it, and presented another self-acting instrument of the same description. Not long after Chao fell ill, and Pedrini, taking advantage of the opportunity, carried his organ to the

palace. The other mandarins, deeming it their duty to please the sovereign rather than Chao, presented it to his Majesty, who accepted it kindly, expressing himself highly delighted at the invention.

As the Emperor could not bear to remain long in the same place, after returning from Peking to Chan-choon-yuen, on the 2nd of June he departed for Je-hol with his usual retinue. Throughout the journey old men and women were seen standing in ranks near their dwellings, with flowers in their hands, waiting till his Majesty arrived, to wish him a long and happy life. At other times no one was permitted to see the Emperor pass; but this year being the completion of a Chinese century of his age, this favour was granted, but only to old people.

On arriving at Je-hol, we Europeans were requested by order of his Majesty to explain what was the use of strawberries, and how they were eaten in Europe. During all my journeyings in China I had never seen any strawberries, and I had only remarked a few of these plants among the mountains of Tartary. I was however informed that they might be found also in some wild parts of China, but that no care was taken to cultivate them. Yet the Emperor, having understood that we were fond of them, caused them to be planted in his gardens, and even bestowed much care upon their cultivation. I observed also that hops and asparagus grew in Tartary; but both the Chinese and the Tartars laughed on hearing me say that these plants were highly esteemed in Europe.

When I had finished engraving the views of the imperial mansion of Je-hol, I presented the prints to his Majesty, who was greatly pleased with them, and commanded that a large quantity should be taken off for his sons, grandsons, and other princes. Being well satisfied with the manner in which I had bound these thirty-six views of Je-hol in one volume, he ordered me to engrave and arrange together in the same manner the great map of the empire, which I afterwards executed in forty-four plates, as may be seen in the hall of our college.

Upon the return of the Emperor to Je-hol, I baptized a youth of the age of thirteen, whose parents were Christians. As I had remarked, from my first acquaintance with him, that he possessed certain excellent qualities suitable to the priestly office, I under-

took to instruct him in all that is necessary for a Christian missionary. He was the first youth that I took with me for this purpose; and he afterwards followed me to Naples, where he became the senior student in this institution at which I am now writing.

In November, 1715, I was summoned into the presence of the Emperor, to act as interpreter to two Europeans, a painter and a chemist, who had just arrived. While we were awaiting his Majesty's pleasure in one of the anterooms, a eunuch addressed my companions in Chinese, and was angry because they returned no answer. I immediately told him the cause of their silence, upon which he said, that we Europeans were all so alike that it was scarcely possible to distinguish one from another. I had often heard the same remark from other persons, our resemblance being generally attributed to the long beards we all wore. The Chinese do not shave; but their beards are so thin that the hairs might be counted: the few they have, however, they value even to ridicule. Father Perreyra having once perceived a white hair on the face of a mandarin, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, hastened to pluck it out, supposing that he did him a service. The mandarin, on the contrary, was both vexed and grieved at the loss; and picking up the hair, he wrapped it carefully in a piece of paper, and took it home. The Emperor himself was not exempt from this weakness. He once commanded Father Rod, who acted as his surgeon, to cure him of a boil that had formed upon his face. Father Rod prescribed a plaster, saying that, in order to apply it properly, it would be necessary to cut off a few hairs from his Majesty's beard; and the Emperor, after a long consultation with his looking-glass, ordered the most dexterous of his eunuchs to cut them. Immediately after the operation he looked at himself again, and, with marks of deep grief, he bitterly reproved the eunuch for having so grossly blundered as to cut off four hairs when three would have been quite enough.

There were in Peking an abbot and twelve priests, who had been sent by Peter the Great to administer spiritual comfort to the families of the Russian prisoners of war. As strange things were reported concerning these ecclesiastics, I resolved to make their personal acquaintance, with a view of sending an exact

account of them to the Propaganda. According to the custom of the country in which we were, I first sent a present to the abbot, then waited upon him myself. I found him courteous and dignified in his manners, and remarkably neat in his dress and furniture. Whenever he came out of his church he held a crucifix on his breast, and the pastoral in his hand. He was a schismatic, but with me he pretended to be a Catholic. He spoke just enough Latin to make himself understood; and as he told me that one of his priests, who was ill, could also speak this language, I went to see him, but all I could get out of the man was—*intelligit, intelligit.* The abbot told me that all the Christians of his sect in Peking scarcely amounted to fifty, and were descendants of prisoners of war, one of whom still lived, though far advanced in years. I asked him whether it was true that he had baptized a great number of Chinese. To this he replied that his christenings had been limited to the families of the Russian prisoners; that he did not attend to the Chinese because he was ignorant of their language, and the abandoned state of his own congregation required all his attention. Their church, which, like the temples of the Chinese idolaters, they call Miao, had upon its front a cross like ours, but with two transversal bars besides. They call God Fo, which is the appellation of an idol, and their clergy Lamas, like the priests of Fo. They officiate in their church without any ceremony, admitting men and women at the same time, which in China is considered nothing less than an abomination. The men remain uncovered as we do in Europe; but our Christians in China, including the officiating priest, keep covered the whole time, the Chinese considering this as a mark of respect. Although the abbot was so elegant in his dress, the priests under him had a mean and shabby appearance; and I even saw some of them at play in the public streets before the church; which in China is absolutely indecorous, and not to be done by any person of the least respectability.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dread of the Plague—Death of Father Tilisch—Alarm among the Christians—Firmness of the Emperor—His Avarice—Origin of the Chinese College.

In the summer of 1716 there was a great deal of illness at Je-hol, and the Emperor became apprehensive that it might be the plague. He therefore ordered all the physicians at his court to visit the sick singly, and to draw up a separate report of each case, pointing out the remedies required. All the Europeans at Je-hol, as well as two lamas who had the reputation of being well acquainted with the medical science, received the same command from his Majesty. We all went our rounds; but we Europeans, not being physicians, refused to prescribe remedies. The mandarins, however, insisted on our conforming to the imperial will; and when my turn came, after vainly protesting my ignorance of medicine, I allowed the words to escape me that I knew what to prescribe for those suffering from costiveness. Upon this, they pressed me eagerly to name the remedy; and I told them of a mechanical one, which, on being explained to the Emperor, amused his imperial Majesty amazingly. What rather astonished me on this occasion was to hear the two lamas talk, with clearness and propriety, about the circulation of the blood, and the animalcules engendered when it is impaired.

On the 8th of September of this year I suffered a heavy loss in the death of Father Tilisch, with whom I had made the journey from Canton to Peking, and had lived ever since in the houses that the Emperor gave us at Chan-choon-yuen and Je-hol. He died of a tedious and loathsome disease, through which I nursed him with unwearied devotion; and the Emperor, who had a great regard for him, was exceedingly pleased at what I did for him. My lamented friend was buried in the cemetery of the Portuguese missionaries at Peking, whither it was my lot to

accompany him. It being strictly forbidden to carry the dead through the gate used by the sovereign, we went by another road. I then saw another part of Tartary and of the great wall, travelling along defiles continually hemmed in by lofty and precipitous mountains.

At this period, Ching-mow, a military mandarin who resided at Kie-she, not far from Canton, sent a libel to the Emperor, in which he attempted to show that the foreign trade and the propagation of the Christian religion were highly detrimental to the empire. His Majesty handed it over to the Ping-poo, or Military Board, in order that, after giving due consideration to the charge, it might come to a proper decision regarding it. The Ping-poo answered that the matter, being of paramount importance, should be referred to the Kieu-king, or Supreme Board. The recommendation was followed, and the Kieu-king resolved that Canton should be closed against foreigners, our holy religion prohibited, all the Christians imprisoned, and their churches demolished.

On hearing this, the Europeans in Peking deputed three missionaries to plead their cause with the Emperor. These deputies waited upon his Majesty with a petition, wherein they dexterously reminded him of the existing laws in favour of the Christian religion; but, contrary to the general custom, they could obtain no answer. This made us apprehend that a severe persecution was preparing against us, and for some time we were in a state of extreme anxiety. Not long after, however, the viceroy of Canton, obeying, as it was supposed, a secret order of the Emperor, sent a report to the Ping-poo, in which he stated that the commerce of Canton could not endanger the safety of the empire, and should not be stopped, but that our religion should be suppressed. The following day the Emperor decreed that, conformably to the viceroy's report, the commerce of Canton should be re-opened, but that the suppression of the Christian religion should be suspended.

We then repaired to the palace for the purpose of expressing our gratitude to the Emperor; but before we had performed the indispensable prostrations, and returned thanks either by word of mouth or in writing, Wey, the first eunuch, came out of the imperial apartments, and addressed us with these words:—"His

Majesty says that you need not thank him, for he has granted you no favour, the decree by which the suppression of your religion is suspended being the same that he issued last year on a similar occasion. His Majesty is invariably true to his word, and never abrogates what he has once decreed."

Whenever we followed the Emperor from Peking to Je-hol, the expenses of our journey were defrayed by a pah-yen, that is, a custom-house officer, who was commanded to support us out of what he had gained in the exercise of his office. In 1718, however, his Majesty's avarice increasing as he advanced in years, he decreed that in future the pah-yen should pay into the imperial treasury what they were bound to supply for our maintenance, towards repairing the palace, the roads, and the bridges, and other similar purposes, amounting altogether to an exorbitant sum; and that these several items should be economically defrayed at his expense. In consequence of this new arrangement, each of us was now allowed one cart and four mules for the conveyance of his baggage, a tent, a horse, and twelve tahels a-month; but as we had to keep the horse at our expense, this allowance of about three pounds a-month was insufficient to meet our wants, and we were obliged to make up the remainder as well as we could.

In the month of June of the subsequent year, while following the Emperor to Je-hol as usual, I met, in the neighbourhood of Low-kwo-tien, several Christians, who had come to ask me to administer the holy sacrament to a woman who was dying in Koo-pa-kew, a place five miles distant, and close to the great wall. Koo-pa-kew contained about two hundred and fifty Christians, who deserved the praise and affection of the missionaries for their fervent attachment to our religion. Accordingly I went to confess the dying woman, after which I gave her the sacrament and the extreme unction. Yielding to the pressing entreaties of several persons, I devoted the remainder of the day to receiving their confessions; and when evening came, as the chapel continued to be full of people who awaited their turn, after taking a slight refreshment I resumed my work, and carried it on throughout the night without once closing my eyes; but as most of these deserted Christians had not been able to confess for a long time, their confessions were generally so long that I

could not listen to more than seventy-two. In consequence of this, the next morning, immediately after mass, I again betook myself to the confessional with unabated zeal, so that during a stay of three days I confessed one hundred and ninety-nine persons, administered the sacrament to one hundred and sixty-seven, and christened fifty-four.

Among those whom I baptized at Koo-pa-kew was the uncle of the sovereign of Mong-quo-pah, a state situated in the province of Kwey-chau, but almost independent of the Emperor of China, as is shown by a blank in the map of the empire which I engraved. This neophyte told me that, throughout his nephew's dominions, no idols, images, or deities were worshipped, and that consequently there were no temples nor bonzes, nor any other sort of priests. He asked for a good number of religious books to distribute among his fellow-countrymen, and prayed that a missionary might be sent to teach them the Holy Word.

The youth I had taken with me in 1714, with a view of bringing him up for the church, was a native of Koo-pa-kew. On this occasion I was pressed to receive three other boys from the same place, among whom was the blessed John In, of whom I shall say more hereafter. On arriving at Je-hol with these four boys, I caused a room to be fitted up with five partitions, each having a curtain in front, and in these I put four beds for them, and one for a gentleman whom I appointed to instruct them in the language and knowledge of the Chinese. I then established a division of time for prayers, spiritual conversation, study, and other occupations, so that my infant institution had more the appearance of a noviciate than of a school, as I called it. I did not call it a college, because at this period I had in truth no higher object than that of forming a mere school, which should end with my life in that same country. I well knew how much that vast field lacked labourers, and that Europe could not furnish them, the number of missionaries she had sent thither from 1580 to 1724 scarcely amounting to five hundred. I also knew that, however numerous and zealous the European missionaries might be, they could not produce any satisfactory results, in consequence of the formidable barrier of the language, which up to my time none had been able to surmount so as to make himself understood by the people at large. For these rea-

sons, and others which I think it unnecessary to state, I firmly believed that it was indispensable to establish in the church of God a religious community exclusively for the purpose of qualifying the natives for the apostolical ministry. But as I possessed neither the funds nor the convenience, or support required for so great an undertaking, I felt compelled to keep within a humbler sphere.

My brothers and other European friends, however, having heard of my intention of undertaking the education of young Chinese, meanwhile had sent me a liberal supply of money, which unexpectedly reached me at the very moment when it was wanted. As land in China produces twelve per cent. on the capital invested, and houses even as much as eighteen, the sum I thus received secured me a yearly income more than sufficient to cover my expenses. Nearly at the same time I also received two dispatches from Rome, by which his Holiness conferred on me the office of Apostolical Prothonotary, and the living of San Lorenzo, in Arena, in the diocese of Mileto, implying the privilege of wearing mitre and crosier. Encouraged by these various and distinguished favours of Divine Providence, I now aspired to extend my school, and to devote it exclusively to forming native ecclesiastics; but the malice with which my efforts were opposed both by Asiatics and Europeans, soon convinced me that God had disposed otherwise, and that China was not the spot in which my intended institution could prosper.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Chapels for Women—Chinese Jealousy—Don Pedrini arrested—Machinations against the School—Lucio—John In withdrawn—His Father's Death—His Return—A Dream.

On my return to Peking I established a chapel in the house of one of my penitents who lived near the Palace, so that the Christian women of the neighbourhood might perform their religious duties. This scheme having succeeded beyond my expectations, I erected another chapel in Peking, and one at Chan-choon-yuen, both for the exclusive service of women, who, owing to the excessive jealousy with which they are kept, could not enter the place of worship destined for men. The Jesuits had a church for women at Peking, but it was only opened once in six months. In other places where two churches could not be procured, the two sexes went to the same, but at different times; and on the day appointed for the women, it was necessary to place two guards at the door to prevent the intrusion of men.

To show how jealously the women of China are watched, and how cautious the missionaries ought to be, I will relate what happened to me at Chan-choon-yuen. One day when I was in the above-mentioned chapel, confessing in turn several women who were stationed behind a curtain, I observed a man passing to and fro before the door and watching my actions. When my duty was over, I asked the beadle who the man was, and what he wanted; and he replied with a smile, that he was a heathen but lately married to a Christian, who had stipulated that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion. On the preceding day she had told him, that in the morning she would come to Atso-koong-foo, which means "to do the business," this being the manner in which the Chinese express confession. Not understanding what business his young bride could have to perform with another man, he had given her permission to come,

but had followed her by stealth, in order to watch her proceedings. The beadle having been informed of this, took no notice of him, in order that his mind might be relieved from any jealous suspicions. After he had watched for some time, finding that I remained seated and immoveable, he approached the beadle, and said he thought we were mad, as we sat doing nothing while we pretended to have business to transact. The beadle explained the mystery to him, by informing him that the women on the other side of the curtain came one after the other to confess their transgressions, and that, after suitable correction and instructions, if repentant I absolved them, upon which explanation he went away apparently satisfied.

On the afternoon of the 8th of February, 1720, amidst the general rejoicing and feasting of a Chinese new year's day, two bailiffs seized our friend Don Pedrini in his apartment, bound his hands with a handkerchief, and led him away. Father Jartou and myself, anxious to ascertain the cause of his arrest, followed him to the imperial palace, whither he had been taken, and there we found that one of the eunuchs had made him go through the genuflections and prostrations with which it is customary on that day to pay homage to the Emperor. We were informed that he had been arrested because on that morning he had not joined the other Europeans in fulfilling that duty, especially as on the occasion of his Majesty's mother's death he had already been guilty of a similar neglect. The Emperor had only ordered that Don Pedrini should be desired to go and perform the ceremonies above-mentioned, and that, if he declined complying with the command, he should be dragged to the palace in chains, and compelled to obey; but the mandarin Chao, who was our sworn enemy, without waiting to see what Pedrini would do, had overstepped his instructions, and directed that our companion should at once be treated as a malefactor, in order to cast a slur upon us all.

The day after, mistaking my affliction for terror, the wily Chao took me aside, and under the pretence of anxious benevolence, exhorted me with all the power of his eloquence not to follow Pedrini's example, unless I wished to get into a similar scrape. The drift of all this was an insinuation that I should give up my school, and remain idle in that vast vineyard of the

Lord; for he held my endeavours to form native ecclesiastics in absolute abhorrence, and was doing all in his power to frustrate them. He was assisted in this unholy work by several other courtiers, and even by some Europeans, who lived either in dread of his resentment, or under the sway of still baser feelings; there was no stratagem which this perverse coalition scrupled to employ, if it was but likely to cause the dispersion of my school. One day they forged a letter from the parents of my pupils, saying, that as the soldiers I had confessed at Koo-pa-kew had refused to take part in the funeral rites of a deceased mandarin, they requested me to send their sons home. Another time they sent letters to the same Christians of Koo-pa-kew purporting that I kept their boys with me for abominable purposes, and that unless they were instantly withdrawn they would certainly incur some fearful punishment. Upon other occasions they tried to daunt my resolution by spreading all sorts of calumnious reports against my character, and hinting in various ways that the Emperor was on the eve of giving me some fearful mark of his displeasure.

Notwithstanding these vexatious proceedings, my pupils, their parents, and myself, were immoveable in our determination; but wishing to irritate my enemies as little as possible, I resolved to take no more pupils than I already had. Accordingly I wrote to stop a certain Lucio U, who was to join us from the province of Nanking; but my letter crossed him on the road, and when he reached my school after forty days' journey, I did not like to refuse him admission: happy would it have been for me had he never entered my doors, for he turned out to be the greatest affliction of my long and agitated life, as the reader will see.

Meanwhile the Emperor's birthday came, and we had to offer presents to his Majesty as usual. Don Pedrini presented a number of European curiosities, and the Emperor accepted twenty-four sheets of paper, thus showing that the Father was not quite out of favour. I offered my gift with considerable apprehension, not only because I was Pedrini's companion, but also because I had nothing in my possession that was worth offering; it consisted of four pounds of European colours, a pound of tartar, six ounces of treacle, and a few fumigating pastiles.

Although these articles were of no value, his Majesty did me the honour of accepting them all. A few days after we met the Emperor in the garden of the Palace, and his Majesty asked Pedrini his age, thus showing that he began to receive him again into favour.

Perceiving after this that the name of the Emperor could no longer be used as a means of intimidation, the persecutors of my school now betook themselves to the expedient of sending to the Bishop of Peking a remonstrance, which was a tissue of most abominable inventions against my character. They stated, among other things, that it was highly discreditable to the Chinese mission that one of its members should travel about in the suite of the Emperor, with a carriage full of boys, just as some of the chief courtiers were doing, to the great scandal of the nation; and that in my case this was the more blameable, because at Je-hol I lodged in the house of the Emperor's uncle, whose son was Governor of the Nine Gates, and Censor of Morals. Unwilling to give offence to my powerful accusers, the bishop answered their communications in terms which appeared to imply that he disapproved of my conduct, and at the same time he advised me to dismiss three of my pupils, and to keep the other two as servants, teaching them nothing more than the Chinese characters. Hereupon I wrote a minute justification of all my proceedings, refuting each imputation by the assertion of facts which were calculated to make my enemies tremble for their own safety. The bishop instantly forwarded this to them, and they were so ashamed and alarmed that they gave me no farther annoyance through this channel.

At last, however, they succeeded in inducing John In's father to withdraw him from my care. On my passage through Koo-pa-kew, in the summer of 1720, this deluded man pretended to be ill, and pressed me to leave his son with him. I told him, in the presence of several other Christians, that, if his illness was a mere pretence, he did very wrong in thus reclaiming what he had offered up to God; to which, unfortunately for him, he answered that, if what he alleged were not true, he knew it would be an attempt to deceive the Almighty, and not me. On hearing this, I gave the boy my blessing, together with several presents, and we parted. The next morning he came

with his eldest brother to see me once more before my departure. I then asked him whether his father was really ill, as he had affirmed on the previous evening, and he replied, that on their arriving home, his father himself had told him that he was quite well, but had pleaded illness only as an excuse for taking him away from my school, as he had been assured that the Emperor was on the point of putting us all to death on account of our supposed malpractices.

The poor boy had passed the whole night in tears: his eyes were swollen; his countenance pale and emaciated. He threw himself at my feet, and tried to confess, but his constant sobs scarcely allowed him to articulate a word. After confession he spontaneously vowed to return to my school, and enter the church, as soon as the Lord should grant him an opportunity of so doing. I then exhorted him to patience, constancy, and confidence in God, and again blessed him; but as he continued to lament, saying that in those mountains of Koo-pa-kew he had no one to guide him in the path of salvation, I took from my neck the crucifix which had been my guide and comfort in all my travels, and gave it to him with the assurance that if he consulted His Divine Majesty he would receive far better spiritual lessons than from my poor self. Unable any longer to restrain my feelings, I hurriedly mounted my horse, and resumed my journey, overwhelmed with grief at this heart-rending separation.

Soon after my departure, while this youth was at his devotions, a friend suddenly came and informed him that his father was dying. He instantly rushed to his father's bed-side, but only arrived in time to see him expire. His father had been seized with an apoplectic fit, and calling for a physician instead of a confessor, he died without receiving the holy sacrament. This awful visitation made a great impression on the Christians of Koo-pa-kew, who viewed it as a punishment inflicted by the Almighty on the deceased for his impious behaviour. His father's funeral was no sooner over than John In wanted to join us again; but, notwithstanding his urgent prayers and entreaties, his mother would never allow him to do so. Taking advantage of her parental authority, she had even prepared chains and stocks wherewith to punish him had he attempted to escape. Finding himself thus debarred from the life that he so ardently

desired, he shut himself up in his room, where he spent his days and nights in tears, taking scarce any food. At the end of a month he was so thin and exhausted, that his mother, perceiving no other means of saving his life, at last allowed him to depart. The day of his unexpected return was one of rejoicing to us all. Pale and sad as he had latterly been, he now suddenly recovered, as if by miracle, his natural complexion and buoyancy of spirits, so that his brother burst into a flood of tears at this unexpected consolation.

There is a singular circumstance connected with this incident, which I will relate for the edification of my readers. On the morning of the 28th of the preceding month of March, my assistant informed me that he had heard John In weeping during the night, but had been unable to elicit from him the cause of his grief: hereupon I sent for the youth, and pressed him to say what ailed him. He then told me that he had been greatly distressed in his sleep by a dream which still continued to harass his mind with all the force of reality. In this dream, which he related to me, he had anticipated his withdrawal from school, the death of his father, the obduracy of his mother, his solitude and subsequent illness, and his eventual return to us; all of which was afterwards realised with a minuteness and accuracy of detail perfectly astonishing.

I have dwelt thus much on the obstacles against which I had to contend during the infancy of my institution, in order that others may take example, and never expect praise or assistance from man in the works which they undertake for the service of God, as, sooner or later, they will be amply rewarded by Him. All these storms raised by Satan against my frail little bark, on its first setting sail, were a favourable omen; for the great enemy of mankind would not have opposed its progress with so much malice if he had not dreaded the good results which it was destined to produce.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival of the Russian Embassy—Point of Etiquette—Imperial Manifesto—Mutual Concessions.

On the 29th of November of the same year, 1720, Count Ismailof, who was sent on an embassy to his Celestial Majesty by the Czar, Peter the Great, made his public entry into Peking with a retinue of ninety persons, and the sound of trumpets, drums, and other military instruments. He was on horseback, and had a man of gigantic height on one side of him, and a dwarf on the other, both on foot. His retinue partly preceded and partly followed him; some on horseback, and others on foot; all with drawn swords, and in splendid array. Count Ismailof had a fine person and a noble expression of countenance: he spoke German, French, and Italian, and had some slight knowledge of Latin.

To conduct the negotiations with this ambassador the Emperor appointed a commission, consisting of a mandarin and two courtiers, all personages of great authority; and deputed five Europeans and a Chinese to serve as interpreters. Being one of the number, I had the honour of waiting on Count Ismailof together with the others. After an exchange of compliments, the ambassador said he had a letter from the Czar, which he was instructed to deliver into his Celestial Majesty's own hands; and on being questioned as to its contents, he produced a copy, and gave it to the commissioners. Louis Fan, the Chinese interpreter, was desired to read it; but the letter was written in Latin, and the poor man knew so little of this language, that he had been obliged to petition the Pope for a dispensation from reading mass every day. He muttered and mumbled till he wore out the patience of the bystanders; and when at length he was pressed to tell the meaning, he was obliged to confess that he could not make it out. The letter was then handed to us, and we immediately read the contents. It imported that

the Czar, being desirous to strengthen the good understanding in which he had hitherto lived with the Emperor, had sent Count Ismailof as his ambassador, requesting his Majesty to listen to all the details that he would have to submit to him, and not to send him back to Moscow before the business on which he had been dispatched was completely arranged.

The commissioners were incessant in their inquiries respecting the business alluded to in the letter; but the wary Ismailof constantly replied that he was forbidden to speak upon the subject until the letter had been received by the Emperor, and his diplomatic capacity acknowledged. As however the commissioners insisted upon having the first information, the ambassador, being at length overcome by their troublesome importunity, stated that the whole business consisted in the establishment of a treaty between the Russians and the Chinese, in order to avert any future misunderstanding. Whilst we were engaged in conversation with the ambassador, the dinner sent him by his Majesty arrived; and when he was requested to return thanks, by making the accustomed prostrations, he refused, alleging that he represented his sovereign, who was on equal terms with the Emperor; but that he would make an obeisance according to the custom of his country. The commissioners could not obtain any further concessions, and were obliged to be satisfied.

The Emperor having been immediately informed of this, was as much satisfied with the contents of the letter, and the business on which the ambassador had been sent, as he was displeased to hear of the reluctance which he had shown to perform the indispensable prostrations. But he dissembled; and in order to obtain his object without coming to a rupture, he resorted to the stratagem of inviting Count Ismailof to a private audience, saying that he would receive the Czar's letter upon a subsequent occasion. The ambassador immediately perceived the snare, and returned thanks to his Majesty for the honour he was willing to grant him as a private individual; but added that, as he was in the service of his sovereign, he must first beg to present his letter.

The Emperor then ordered us to inform the ambassador that, as he declined being presented to him before delivering the Czar's letter, his Majesty would neither receive the letter nor

the gifts sent him by the Czar; and that he might therefore return to Russia. To this Ismailof replied that, before executing the commission he had received from his sovereign, he could not receive any personal distinction; and when he was asked whether, in presenting the letter, he would perform the prostrations, he answered that he would not; but that he would make the obeisance which European ambassadors made before the princes to whom they were sent.

Upon this the Emperor commanded one of his principal eunuchs, a page, the master of the ceremonies, and the five European interpreters to inform the ambassador that, out of regard to the Czar, he had been induced to do him the honour which he had refused; that, according to the immutable ceremonial of China, it was incumbent upon ambassadors to make the prostrations, and to place the letter upon a table, whence it was taken by a great officer of state, and presented to his Majesty; that although such was the custom, he would waive it on that particular occasion, and receive him in the great hall: that, besides this manner of presenting any thing written to his Majesty, there was also the official channel of his government; and that he could choose which of the two ways suited him best. To the suggestion of the official channel, the ambassador replied with a smile; and with respect to the other, he answered that he was commanded by his master to deliver the letter into his Majesty's own hands, and that he could not take upon himself to depart from his instructions. The eunuch then told him that, if neither of these ways satisfied him, he might endeavour to meet the Emperor, as he was coming to Peking, and kneeling down before his Majesty, present him the letter on the public road. Count Ismailof also rejected this advice as indecorous towards his own sovereign, and persisted in saying that he would deliver the letter into the Emperor's own hands, in the place where he was accustomed to receive the ambassadors of other powers. At this presumption, highly offensive to Chinese pride, the eunuch smiled, and the page said that the ambassador must be mad; whereupon, without saying one word more, we all rose and broke up the conference.

The interpreters were again summoned to the palace, and a decree, written by the Emperor himself, was given to them for

translation, with the injunction that they should represent it as the work of his Majesty's ministers, and should request the ambassador to reply, categorically, to every particular. The translation was executed by one of us who was not in sufficient possession of the Tartar language to render several parts of the manifesto very clearly.

The subject of this imperial edict, which was supposed to be addressed by the Foreign Office to the ambassador, was as follows:—"The Emperor had hitherto received, and treated with great honour, all envoys of foreign powers; and as during many years he had been on a good understanding with the Czar, as soon as he was informed of the approach of his ambassador to Peking, he had sent some mandarins to meet him, furnishing him with horses, and whatever else was necessary in the journey. On the ambassador's arrival in Peking, one of his Majesty's eunuchs was sent to him with dishes from the imperial table, and a message that after a few days he would be received at court. His Majesty thought that all these favours might have induced him to give up his unreasonable pretensions of delivering the letter with his own hands, as he was no more than a representative of his master. This circumstance had awakened much suspicion upon his conduct. If he expected to receive the same honours as those that would be paid to the Czar if personally present in Peking, the marks of respect hitherto shown him were certainly insufficient, and other forms and ceremonies must be put in practice. He however was not the Czar, but merely his envoy, and even for that his Majesty did not consider the credentials as entirely satisfactory. Although he had boasted of being not only an ambassador, but also a prime minister, he might be a merchant, who, the better to succeed in his traffic, had disguised himself as an ambassador. But granting that he had really been dispatched by the Czar, and that he was in fact his ambassador, yet he ought not on this account to be so presumptuous, nor insist upon presenting his letter with his own hands, as one familiar friend would to another, without observing any of those ceremonies which in China are indispensable, as must have been known not only to him, but to the Czar also. In this manner it was impossible that he should ever attain the object of his embassy."

Such was the purport of this imperial manifesto, which concluded by directing that, as the conduct of the ambassador was so suspicious, the Foreign Office should make strict inquiries into the matter, and exact from him detailed explanations on every point.

When the translation was completed, the eunuch asked us whether the ambassador and the gentlemen of his suite understood the Latin language, and as we replied that they did but very little, he then desired me to make it in Italian. Fearing that Count Ismailof might suspect that I had some share in the invectives contained in the decree, and excite the Czar's hatred against the Propaganda, in whose service I was, I replied that the ambassador was better acquainted with the French than with Italian. Upon this the eunuch immediately ordered that the translation should be executed in the French language, and the task was accordingly confided to Father Parrenin. It was fortunate for me that he relieved me from this duty, as Count Ismailof actually conceived suspicions of the other interpreters, but never of myself. Had this been otherwise, it would have grieved me much, for afterwards he was recommended to me by the Bishop of Peking in the name of the Propaganda.

The French translation of the imperial decree, together with the original copy in Tartar characters, was conveyed by the mandarins to the ambassador without the aid of the interpreter. I was however informed that he did not appear in the least surprised at the blame thus bestowed upon him, and that he again expressed his determination not to make the required prostrations, and to present the letter with his own hands.

The mandarins returned to the ambassador with an answer also written by the Emperor himself, but with more condescension, and in the name of the government. Count Ismailof again declared in the same manner, that he would not make the prostrations, and demanded permission to place the Czar's letter himself in the hands of the Emperor.

His Majesty perceiving that the ambassador firmly persisted in this resolution, no longer corresponded with him in the name of the government, but sent several mandarins, accompanied by interpreters, of whom I was one, immediately from himself. We stated that the Emperor considered the family of the Czar as

his own, and that the Czar's honour was equally dear to his Majesty, with many other similar expressions which were made to bear upon the pending question. We added, that whenever he should send an ambassador to the Czar, he promised that his representative should stand uncovered before him, although in China none but condemned criminals exposed their heads bare, and should perform all the other ceremonies customary at Moscow. No sooner had we arrived at these words, than the chief mandarin instantly took off his cap before the ambassador; and the latter being thus satisfied, promised to perform the prostrations according to Chinese custom, and also to place the letter upon the table in sight of the Emperor sitting on his throne, so that one of the courtiers might afterwards convey it to his Majesty. The mandarin farther stated, that the ambassador had the imperial permission to repair to the gate of the palace in the same state as he had entered Peking, namely with drawn swords, music, and other distinctions. After this Count Ismailof endeavoured to justify his conduct, and produced the original instructions confided to him by the Czar, in which, among other things, he was commanded not to perform the prostrations, and to insist on delivering the letter himself into the hands of the Emperor. It was finally arranged that the ceremony should take place on the 9th of the same month.

CHAPTER XX.

Reception of Count Ismailof—Court Dinner—Eulogy of the European Missionaries—Presents—The Emperor's Advice to the Czar.

On the appointed day Count Ismailof went to the palace to present the letter to the Emperor, with the usual ceremonies and prostrations, as had been agreed; and the presentation took place in the manner which I am about to describe.

After the ambassador and the ninety men of his suite had been kept waiting a good while in the open vestibule of the Great Audience Hall, the Emperor entered it, followed by the principal officers of state, and mounted his magnificent throne by some steps on the left, whilst every one else ascended on the right. His Majesty took his place in a chair gorgeously decorated, having on his right three of his sons seated upon cushions, and a little farther off, the halberdiers, pages, eunuchs, chief courtiers, and ourselves, all standing; we interpreters wearing the dress and insignia of great mandarins. At the foot of the throne, on the floor of the Great Hall, sat upon cushions, in distinct rows, the first mandarins of the empire, the Koong-yeh, or lords of the imperial family, and many other mandarins of inferior rank. Before the throne, near the entrance of the Great Hall, stood a table prepared with sweetmeats for his Majesty. In the open vestibule, which was a few steps lower than the Great Hall, there was another table, beyond which Count Ismailof was standing. According to Chinese etiquette, the ambassador should have placed the letter upon this table, kneeling down in the vestibule; but the Emperor ordered that the table should be brought into the Audience Hall, and that the ambassador should also advance, which was a mark of great honour.

Count Ismailof then entered, and immediately prostrated himself before the table, holding up the Czar's letter with both hands. The Emperor, who had at first behaved graciously to

Ismailof, now thought proper to mortify him, by making him remain some time in this particular posture. The proud Russian was indignant at this treatment, and gave unequivocal signs of resentment by certain motions of his mouth, and by turning his head aside, which under such circumstances was very unseemly. Hereupon his Majesty prudently requested that the ambassador himself should take up the letter to him, and when Count Ismailof did so, kneeling down at his feet, he received it with his own hands, thus giving him another mark of regard, and granting what he had previously refused.

After the presentation of the letter, the ambassador, attended by the master of the ceremonies, returned to his former place in the open vestibule. Shortly after, he moved to the centre opposite the chair in which the Emperor was sitting; behind him stood his principal attendants, and further back a number of soldiers and servants.

When all present were thus marshalled in due order, at particular signals given by the master in chief of the ceremonies, they all went down upon their knees, and after the lapse of a few minutes, beat their heads thrice to the ground. After this all arose upon their feet, then again kneeled down and prostrated themselves three times. In this manner they kneeled thrice, and performed nine prostrations.

The ambassador was then conducted again to the Emperor's feet, and was asked by his Majesty, through us interpreters, who were standing, what request he had to make. Count Ismailof answered in the French language, that the Czar had sent him to inquire after the health of his Majesty, and to confirm the friendly relations that existed between them; and that he himself also took the liberty of inquiring after the state of his Majesty's health.

To these inquiries the Emperor replied in a very courteous manner; and then added, that it being a feast day, it would not be proper to discuss business, for which an audience would be granted at another opportunity. He then commanded Count Ismailof and his attendants to be seated. The ambassador was then permitted to sit down upon a low cushion at the end of the row in which were the Koong-yeh, as mentioned above, and four of his principal attendants were placed behind him at the ex-

tremity of the next row. All his other followers were directed to remain in the vestibule. When they were all seated, his Majesty began to speak, addressing his discourse to the ambassador, and said that he was not to be surprised at seeing the European missionaries of our party habited in the dress and decorations of great mandarins: that we were not mandarins, but only apparelled as such by his command, so that we might take part in the ceremony, to which none but persons in that costume could be admitted; but that although we were not mandarins, it was not to be inferred that we were unworthy of such distinction, but merely unwilling to be elevated to this dignity, as well as other honours, which he would otherwise gladly have bestowed. He also wished the ambassador not to feel surprised at our being placed nearer to the throne than himself, or the great mandarins and lords, as ours was an exceptional place, granted only for that particular occasion, while that occupied by Ismailof was in the rank of his own grandees. He moreover desired him to understand that we Europeans were not residing at Peking by force or constraint, like prisoners of war, and so brought to the capital, but that we had come from distant countries of our own free-will to offer him our services; and that even on that day we had assisted him as interpreters not by command, but merely by invitation. He lastly declared, that during the whole of his reign we had committed no fault deserving even a reprimand; and that he gave us such marks of his affection because he wished to gain ours. His Majesty was pleased on that day to say from his throne these and many other things in praise of the Europeans, not only for the information of the ambassador, but also to justify himself before his courtiers, who were astonished to see us so highly honoured.

When the Emperor had finished his eulogy of the Europeans, he put many questions to the ambassador upon various subjects. After these he called him to the throne, and with his own hands gave him some wine in a gold cup, an act of condescension which he also bestowed on his four principal attendants above-mentioned. He then commanded his great officers of state to summon the remaining persons composing the ambassador's suite to the door of the Great Hall, in parties of five, and to serve them with drink. In the meantime a table of sweetmeats was con-

veyed to the ambassador, and then another upon which were dishes from the Emperor's own table. As all the company were seated in the Tartar fashion, that is, with the legs crossed, and upon very low cushions, the tables were scarcely a foot high. All those who were seated on the floor of the Great Hall, as well as ourselves, were each furnished with a little table, and thus we all ate and drank, his Majesty continuing on the throne.

During the repast, the Emperor ordered his musicians to play and sing in the Chinese fashion; and after this two youths were introduced, who danced with so much elegance, that we Europeans were much astonished at the performance. In the vestibule, where the ambassador's suite was entertained, the same kind of amusements were provided; and after two hours had been thus passed, the Emperor retired, and we proceeded to another part of the palace to join the other Europeans. Here we all prostrated ourselves before the mandarins, and returned thanks to his Majesty for the honour he had done us by the great eulogy above-mentioned. His Majesty sent a message to us by the eunuch Ching-foo, importing that he had thus spoken in our favour, in order, by making our good qualities generally known, to palliate anything of a contrary nature; and that although he had punished Pedrini, that fact must be considered as a family transaction, for he had behaved towards him as a father to his son, without any publicity.

On the following morning the Emperor sent a dinner to the ambassador and the whole of his suite; and as his Majesty was at Chan-choon-yuen, and the ambassador at Peking, we were obliged to perform a journey of three hours on horseback. The eunuch put so many questions to the ambassador, partly by command, and partly to satisfy his own curiosity, that we were detained till three o'clock in the afternoon. We then returned to the palace at a gallop; and as I had not yet broken my fast, I found myself so weak, that it was with great difficulty I could keep my seat upon the horse. This kind of hardship I experienced very often, but I only mention it to show the kind of honourable galley-slaves we were at the imperial court.

Upon a certain day appointed for the purpose, the ambassador presented the gifts sent by his sovereign, consisting of two watches studded with diamonds, a clock in a case of crystal,

containing a portrait of the Czar, which was not at all relished by the Chinese, who did not like to see the portrait of the Czar thus publicly exhibited; a beautiful casket likewise adorned with crystal; eight large mirrors, some cases of mathematical instruments, a large hemisphere, a level, a microscope, some telescopes, a hundred sable skins, the same number of ermine and of fox; and some articles turned by the Czar himself. His Majesty accepted all these presents, which, as I said elsewhere, was a mark of especial honour; and gave the ambassador, and each of his four principal attendants, an enamelled snuff-box, made in his imperial manufactory.

When the Emperor had accepted these presents, the ambassador and two gentlemen of his suite were again received by his Majesty in his private apartments, where, after performing the usual prostrations, they were again invited to a repast, of which we interpreters were also allowed to partake. Upon this the conversation turned exclusively on the peace which it was expedient to preserve between the two monarchies, during which the Emperor repeatedly commanded the Russians to listen in silence, and to write in their language what he was going to say, so that they might report it to their master. He likewise ordered the Tartars to record it in their language, and us Europeans in ours, and to furnish the ambassador with an accurate translation, that he might carry to his sovereign the important piece of advice he wished to send him. His Majesty then began to speak, and after a bombastic preamble, said that the peace and welfare of the two nations depended on the Czar's health; and that, having heard how he delighted in marine excursions, he was desirous to warn him against the inconstancy of the sea, lest he should thus expose himself to destruction. At the conclusion of this solemn illustration of the old saying, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus," Count Ismailof had great difficulty in refraining from laughter, as he himself afterwards told me.

As the Emperor's elephants are kept near the house of the Portuguese Jesuits, his Majesty ordered that upon a certain day the ambassador and the four principal officers of his suite should be entertained by these missionaries, and then escorted to see the imperial stables. There were thirty-three elephants instructed to perform various feats and tricks, which they executed in the

presence of the ambassador, blowing trumpets with their trunks, and kneeling or dancing at the command of their keepers.

The day after we returned to the palace with Count Ismailof and his secretary, when his Majesty gave each of them a superb dress of sables, a vase of fine metal, and two glasses of wine.

The ambassador was also invited to dine at the residence of the French Jesuits, who gave him a sumptuous entertainment, enlivened by the best music to be found in those parts, which is not at all disagreeable to the ear; this was followed by dances, and tricks of legerdemain, which excited the admiration of all the company.

On the 13th of March, 1721, Count Ismailof departed with his train from Peking on his way back to Moscow, taking with him many valuable presents sent by the Emperor to the Czar. As my attention was then engrossed by other matters, I will not attempt to describe these presents, or any other transaction of the embassy, lest I should commit any error. I will only add one incident, which may perhaps give an idea of the immense wealth of the Chinese monarch. One day I was commanded to show to the ambassador and some of his attendants his Majesty's collection of clocks and watches. On entering the room, Count Ismailof was so astonished at the number and variety of these articles displayed before him, that he suspected they were counterfeit. I then requested him to take some of them in his hand, and having done so, he was surprised to find them all perfect. But his astonishment increased still more when I told him that all the clocks and watches he now saw were intended for presents, and that his Majesty possessed a still greater number, placed in various parts of his palaces for his own use.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Emperor in Bed—Life at Je-hol—A quid pro quo—Hard Living—Illness of Scipel.

DURING the stay of the Russian embassy in Peking, Dr. Volta, a Milanese priest and physician, arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, and I was summoned to accompany him when he was introduced to the Emperor. After asking him a few questions, his Majesty commanded him to feel his pulse. Dr. Volta immediately obeyed, but remarked that, in order to form a correct opinion of the state of his Majesty's health, he must feel his pulse on that evening and the next morning. This being therefore repeated when the Emperor went to bed, and then again before he arose, the physician pronounced him to be in an excellent state of health. I observed on this occasion that his Majesty's bed was wide enough to contain five or six persons, and had no sheets. The upper part of the mattress, as well as the under part of the quilt, was lined with lambs'-skin, and the Emperor slept between these, without wearing any night-clothes. As it seldom happens that an Emperor is seen in bed by strangers, he said to us, "You are foreigners, and yet you see me in bed." We replied that we had that honour because his Majesty treated us as his sons; whereupon he added, "I consider you as members of my own house, and very near relatives."

The life to which I was doomed this year, when we went to Je-hol, was quite that of a prisoner. The Emperor being much pleased with Scipel's sculptures, thought proper, lest the artist should work for any one else by stealth, to shut him up in his inner palace, appointing me to be his interpreter. The outer palace, to which the Emperor repaired on certain days of the week for the transaction of business, had a guard of soldiers, and was open to all the officers of state; but the inner one, containing his Majesty's seraglio, was guarded by eunuchs, and even sons and nephews of the Emperor were excluded. If by any

accident a stranger was required to enter it, he could only do so under the escort of twenty eunuchs, who took every possible precaution to prevent him from seeing any of the female inmates.

According to a custom strictly observed in China, the Emperor cannot inhabit the apartments which were occupied by his parents, nor use the throne of his predecessor; and as his Majesty's mother had died a few years before, Scipel and I were commanded to take possession of her empty house. It consisted of a small parlour, and a few other apartments; and was built within a small garden, at the top of a delightful little promontory, which commanded a lake of some extent. By bringing the water of the river which flows close by Je-hol into his gardens, the Emperor had formed the lake, and a number of canals, which were plentifully stocked with fresh-water fish.

On the other side of the lake there was a cottage opposite to our own, whither his Majesty often retired to study, accompanied by some of his concubines. As the windows in China are as high and broad as the rooms themselves, and in summer are kept wide open on account of the heat, through the holes in ours, which were framed with paper, I saw the Emperor employed in reading or writing, while these wretched women remained sitting upon cushions, as silent as novices. Through these holes I also observed the eunuchs while they were engaged in various ways of fishing. His Majesty would then sit in a superb little boat, with five or six concubines at his feet, some Tartar and others Chinese; all dressed in their national costumes. The boat was always followed by many others, all loaded with ladies.

When the Emperor's presence was required in the outer palace on some business, he generally went by water; and, as he necessarily passed under my window, I also saw him. He always came in a boat with some concubines, and with a train of other boats loaded with ladies. On reaching the spot where, by a secret door, he entered the room in which he gave audience, he left the concubines behind, in charge of the eunuchs. I saw him several times about the gardens, but never on foot. He was always carried in a sedan-chair, surrounded by a crowd of concubines, all walking and smiling. Sometimes he sat upon a high seat, in the form of a throne, with a number of eunuchs standing around him; and, watching a favourable moment, he sud-

denly threw among his ladies, grouped before him on carpets of felt, artificial snakes, toads, and other loathsome animals, in order to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them scamper away with their crippled feet. At other times he sent some of his ladies to gather filberts and other fruits upon a neighbouring hill, and pretending to be craving for some, he urged on the poor lame creatures with noisy exclamations until some of them fell to the ground, when he indulged in a loud and hearty laugh. Such were frequently the recreations of his Imperial Majesty, and particularly in the cool of the summer evenings. Whether he was in the country, or at Peking, he saw no other company but his ladies and eunuchs; a manner of life which, in my opinion, is one of the most wretched, though the worldly consider it as the height of happiness.

While staying at this cottage, I was one day informed by one of the eunuchs, that if I wished to see a Holy Bonze, greatly renowned in China, I had but to look through the holes of the paper, and I should see him pass. I accordingly tried to see; but instead of directing my view towards the north, where the said Bonze was passing, I looked towards the west, and I discovered upon the shore of the lake a person clothed in a scarlet mantle, with a splendid head-dress of jewels, similar to those represented upon the heads of Chinese goddesses. To this person a little boy, about five years old, was speaking on his knees. The eunuch asked me what I thought of the divine Bonze. I replied that it was a lamentable thing that one so beautiful and so young should so soon have learned the art of deception; having already persuaded the Emperor that he knew how to render man immortal, and actually causing himself to be adored as a divinity by one of his Majesty's children. The eunuch, hearing me talk of youth, beauty, and adoration, asked me in what direction I had been looking. "Towards the west," I answered; at which he laughed heartily, and told me to look towards the north, as it was not too late. Following his direction, I now perceived the Bonze in a little boat, accompanied by eunuchs, who were conveying him to the Emperor; and I was afterwards informed by my friend, that the idol which I had seen was no other than one of his Majesty's principal concubines, who, being indisposed, was taking the air upon the shores

of the lake; and that the child whom I had seen kneeling before her was her son.

Every morning, except on feast days, Scipel and I repaired to our cottage by break of day, that is, before the ladies left the seraglio; and there we were obliged to remain till they were again secured in their apartments, which generally happened about sun-set. During the hot months, however, they sometimes stayed out of doors till nearly one o'clock in the morning, and then the eunuchs detained us until that late hour. We were supplied with food from the imperial kitchen, but it was always cold, and not being accustomed to this, we suffered greatly.

In his latter years the Emperor had become very economical; and on hearing that our food was furnished from his table, he sent his eunuch Ching-foo to inquire whether we continued to receive the twelve taels per month which he had allowed us for our provisions. I replied in the affirmative; and the eunuch reprimanded me sharply, as having attempted to extort a double allowance; but he was not a little confused when I informed him, that so far from making such an attempt, we often petitioned to be permitted to dine in our own house, according to the manner of our country, and our prayer had never been answered. His Majesty was soon convinced of the rectitude of our conduct, but he did not like us to leave the cottage in the evening, lest we should meet any of his concubines. All we obtained was, that we need not in future enter the Palace at sun-rise, but four hours after, when the ladies retired to dinner. Trifling as this change was, we both rejoiced at it, for it just gave us time enough to set our household in order, and to perform religious duties which we had long been obliged to neglect.

My constitution having already suffered greatly from various causes, I was afraid that this mode of living might entirely destroy it; but though I had been from my youth of a spare habit of body, I now began to grow fat and strong. In the morning before going to the cottage, I ate as much as my stomach would bear; in the afternoon I took a piece of bread, which I brought with me, and drank tea with it; and upon returning home, I supped with an excellent appetite. But Scipel was not so fortunate. His constitution sank gradually day by day, till at last a long and serious illness nearly deprived him of his life.

CHAPTER XXII.

Death of the Emperor Kang-hy—Funeral Rites—Punishment of two great Mandarins.

EARLY in the year 1722 I was appointed interpreter and guide to Father Angelo, the Emperor's watchmaker; and as we spent the whole day in the imperial collection of clocks and watches at Peking, which was more than two hours' journey from our apartments at Chan-choon-yuen, the mandarins ordered that we should lodge in the houses of the French or Portuguese Jesuits. The resident superiors, however, refused to receive us, under pretence that they had no accommodation. Hereupon I resolved to seize the opportunity, and attempt to establish a house in Peking for the use of the missionaries sent by the Propaganda, hoping that the Emperor would not object to the foundation, or else that he would compel the Jesuits to lodge us. I therefore purchased a dilapidated edifice, in a good situation, within the yellow wall, which I almost wholly rebuilt, without allowing the French and Portuguese Jesuits to discover what I was doing; and as soon as it could be inhabited, Father Angelo and myself took up our residence there, to our ineffable delight.

In the meantime his Majesty, who was at Hae-tsoo, the ancient country-mansion of the Chinese emperors, was suddenly seized with inflammation. This illness is not so common in the north of China as it is in the south of Italy, owing perhaps to the difference of climate; for in Peking, from September till March the cold increases in uniform gradation, and from March to September decreases in the same manner, while at Naples the weather passes from one extreme to another in the course of the same day, owing to the prevailing sciroccos. In consequence of this illness his Majesty returned to his palace of Chan-choon-yuen, also called Hae-tien. One or two days after, the Europeans came there to inquire after the state of his Majesty's health; and

on this occasion the French and Portuguese Jesuits, who had discovered the purchase I had made, offered to accommodate me in their houses, but I declined with thanks. They observed that the Emperor, on learning what I had done, might be angry with us all; and I replied that, though it was not my fault, I was ready to abide by the consequences.

On the 20th of December, 1722, I was talking after supper with Father Angelo in the house of his Majesty's uncle, where we resided, when I heard an unusual murmuring noise, as if arising from a number of voices within the palace. Being acquainted with the manners of the country, I instantly caused the doors to be locked, and remarked to my companion that either the Emperor was dead, or else that a rebellion had broken out at Peking. In order to satisfy myself as to the cause of the disturbance, I climbed up on the wall of our dwelling, which skirted the public road, and saw with astonishment an innumerable multitude of horsemen, riding furiously in every direction, without speaking to each other. After watching their movements for some time, I at last heard some persons on foot say that the Emperor Kang-hy was dead. I was afterwards informed that, when given over by his physicians, he had appointed as his successor his fourth son, Young-Chin, who immediately began to reign, and to be obeyed by everybody. One of the first cares of the new Emperor was to have the corpse of his father clothed, and conveyed the same night to the palace at Peking, attending it himself on horseback, followed by his brothers, children, and relatives, and escorted by a countless host of soldiers with drawn swords. The next morning I repaired to Peking with Father Angelo and Scipel, for the purpose of going to the palace, to show our concern for the death of Kang-hy; but we were not admitted that day or the following.

I have already described what I and the other Europeans had done upon the death of Kang-hy's mother. The same ceremonies were now to be performed for the death of the deceased Emperor. We entered the palace with the other missionaries, all clothed in mourning, and went directly to the gate Isi-niu-cung, where we found the mandarins assembled. Some of the missionaries, after speaking aside with the mandarins, followed them to the entrance of the inner palace, where the corpse lay,

and the funeral rites were performed. I then observed to Father Rinaldi, who, being newly arrived, trusted entirely to my directions, that they were going towards the bier, but I did not know what ceremonies they intended to perform. Upon this Father Rinaldi asked them what they were going to do; and he received for answer, that there would be no improper or idolatrous sacrifices, no papers burnt, no libations of wine performed. On this assurance we followed the others; and through the gate already mentioned, we entered a spacious court, in which we found a vast number of mandarins upon their knees. They were all habited in mourning, and weeping; and from time to time, upon a signal from the master of the ceremonies, they all at once raised such a howl of lamentation as filled the sky; after which they performed their prostrations.

We were then ordered to kneel also, but in a place apart from the mandarins. In this position we wept with them, and made the same prostrations, not perceiving anything unlawful or unchristian in such marks of grief. During several days we repaired to the same spot, and repeated the same ceremonies.

When the funeral rites were over, I asked a mandarin who had assisted at the ceremony, in what manner it had been performed; and he replied, that during the whole time the body was lying in the palace no paper money had been burnt; but that, after the removal of the body to Kiah-Shian, the mountain of gold, a place immediately without the gate of the palace, such a quantity of paper money had been burnt that the air around was for a time clouded with smoke. He also told me that the Tien-tsien, or libation of wine, had been made, and had taken place in this manner:—The president of the Board of Rites presented a vessel of wine to the Emperor, who poured it into a large golden bowl; and at the same moment the master of the ceremonies gave a signal, at which the mandarins, and we missionaries with them, performed their prostrations. On hearing that we had, even unconsciously, taken part in this work of superstition, I was grieved and alarmed to a degree which it would be impossible for me to express; and in order to preclude the recurrence of such a misfortune, I resolved to quit that Babylon at any risk, and as soon as possible.

A few days after the Emperor Kang-hy's death, whilst the

funeral rites above mentioned were being performed, Young-Chin, his successor, marked his accession to the throne by an act of justice which struck the whole empire with astonishment. The mandarin Chao was seized by his command, loaded with heavy chains, and condemned to die under a wooden collar, which is a sort of walking pillory, weighing nearly two hundred pounds. The property of this arrogant courtier was confiscated, his family enslaved, and his concubines assigned to other persons. His Majesty, in a proclamation, declared that he had thus punished him for his pride, and for the ill use he made of his authority in persecuting the Europeans: all which I could but attribute to the decrees of an over-ruling Providence. Such was the end of the renowned Chao-Chang, who was the declared enemy of Cardinal de Tournon, and of all Christians in general.

An end still more deplorable than that of Chao awaited his intimate friend Mo-lao. This worthy had several months before proceeded to Macao, for the purpose of purchasing rich and beautiful articles from Europe, which he intended to present to the late Emperor; and, on receiving the intelligence of his death, he hastened to return and offer his collection to the new sovereign. His friends, who were well aware of the change that had taken place in public affairs, having witnessed the imprisonment of Chao, and many others of the nobility with whom he was connected, advised him to defer his return. He, however, relying upon the effect that his gift of valuable curiosities would produce, treated their counsel with contempt. On his arrival at Peking he presented his rich offerings to the Emperor, who did him the great honour of accepting them all. Of this I myself was a witness, as his Majesty, soon after his accession, commanded Scipel and me to work in the palace. A few days after Mo-lao was summoned to the court, and, expecting to receive some mark of distinction, he came with an air of triumph, arrayed in his most magnificent robes, and followed by a long train of attendants. He however found a far different reception from what he had anticipated. Scarcely had he entered a gate, near which Scipel and I were standing, when he was presented to the thirteenth brother of the Emperor, who, after bidding him kneel down, ordered him, in the name of his Majesty, immediately to join the army, then engaged in war against the Tartar

chief, Tsoo-wang-ar-pat-tan; adding that he was thus condemned on suspicion of felony, and that he must bear all the expenses attending the sentence. At this unexpected blow the unhappy Mo-lao was thunder-struck; but after a while, taking courage, he humbly submitted that he was wholly unfit for such a service, both from inexperience of arms and weakness of constitution, and he therefore implored the clemency of his Majesty for his exemption. But the prince, who perfectly understood the Emperor's object in insisting on such a command, replied, "Mo-lao, thou well knowest the custom of the court: obey, therefore, without reply, otherwise thou wilt be compelled;" after which he turned from him, and went away. Mo-lao returned home visibly altered, and upon his arrival great was the fear with which all the inmates of his house were seized, upon learning the unwelcome news. He lay upon his bed weeping bitterly, whilst his servants prepared his luggage for departure, and the day after he left the capital for the army upon the confines of the province of Shen-sy. When he had reached his destination he was conducted to the same house in which one of the Emperor's own brothers was confined, on the suspicion of having with criminal intention supplied him with money to purchase those presents, which were far too splendid for the means of any private individual.

The two exiles, though shut up in separate apartments, contrived to correspond with each other, and to engage in a conspiracy, which being at length discovered, they were both conveyed to Peking, loaded with chains. Here the miserable Mo-lao, three different times, had his legs squeezed between two pieces of wood, which were drawn together with such force as nearly to break the bone, and under this torture he confessed himself guilty, but without implicating the prince. His confession was made public, and at the bottom of it was written his sentence of death, decreed by the Board of Rites.

This court had condemned Mo-lao to be beheaded, which in China is as disgraceful as the gallows in Europe, but the Emperor did not approve of the sentence, and commanded him to be again conducted into the province of Shen-sy. He was accordingly conducted thither in chains, without being permitted to see any one of his family, or to have any of his servants to attend him, and on arriving at the place of his destination, he

was kept prisoner in a Tartar temple for several months. At last he was informed that the Emperor condemned him to die by *his own hands*, and the executioner, after freeing him from his chains, gave him a cup of poison, a halter, and a dagger, that he might choose for himself whichever death he preferred, but he left him no food. The next day the executioner returned, expecting to find him dead; but seeing that he was still alive, he urged the necessity of instant execution: Mo-lao then taking off a coat of mail adorned with gold, gave it to the man to get more time allowed. The executioner accepted the gift, and went to the mandarins to report that he had not yet killed himself; but on the following day, finding him once more alive, he stifled him beneath a sack of sand. After this his body was burnt, and, to complete the tragedy, his ashes were scattered to the winds.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Exclusion of Europeans from the Imperial Palace—Plotting—Death of the Emperor's Mother—Difficulties—Final resolution to depart.

THE remains of the Emperor Kang-hy were now to be removed into Tartary, to the tombs of his ancestors, and we received an order to accompany them to a certain distance out of the gates of the capital. But as we knew that the funeral procession would frequently stop to perform sacrifices and oblations, we resolved to take no part in the superstitious practices of those heathens, and not to attend. Lest, however, I should give my inveterate enemies a pretext against me, when the head of the procession was more than two miles in advance, so that we could not even see their proceedings, Scipel and I mounted on horseback, and followed the multitude as far as the place to which we had orders to go. During my long stay in China, I never had experienced anything so vexatious and mortifying as the necessity under which I was of resorting to so unmanly a device in order to spare my conscience without endangering my personal safety.

A few months after, all the Europeans were summoned to appear before the Too-yoo-soo, or Board of the Imperial Household, when the mandarins informed us in the name of the Governor, who was the seventeenth brother of the Emperor, that for the future, when they wanted anything, they must no longer go to the palace, but communicate with the Board. In consequence of this measure, which has certainly emanated from the Sovereign, the Europeans were excluded from the imperial residence, to which they had hitherto been admitted; and from that day forward no one of them was allowed to enter it unless by his Majesty's especial permission, as in Scipel's case and my own.

Although my enemies were greatly humbled by the fall of the

mandarins Chao-chan and Mo-lao, yet the malignity of their conduct continued unchanged. Their shafts were ever aimed at me and my friends, to prevent our establishment in Peking. Two months had now passed since I was informed that they were plotting to compel us to reside with the French and Portuguese Jesuits. They were aware that I had already purchased a house, and that Pedrini was treating for another still larger. They also knew that I had opened two chapels in which religious ceremonies were performed, and that Pedrini intended to do the same. For these reasons they feared that by degrees we might assume the spiritual direction of all the Christians in Peking, and thus they laboured to prevent it, by forcing us to live with the other Europeans, so that we might have no particular church wherein to officiate.

But Kang-hy's death brought a new state of things, and they could succeed in none of their projects. Nevertheless, in consequence of their evil practices, I was summoned before the Too-yoo-soo, and ordered to produce in writing the names, country, age, and profession of each of us, who were sent by the Propaganda. Moreover, the mandarins of the Board questioned me about my friends, and recommended me to remove to one of the houses of the French or Portuguese. To this I replied, that such a scheme could produce no good result, because, belonging to different Orders and nations, we could not all adopt one and the same mode of life, and that, having houses of our own, it was neither just nor decent that we should go and reside with others, putting them and ourselves to the greatest inconvenience. I supported my argument by the conduct of these same French and Portuguese Jesuits, who had obstinately resisted all the endeavours of the late Emperor Kang-hy to unite them in one society. I further stated, that our object in coming to Peking was to enter into the Emperor's service, and that while we were so occupied, it could not much matter to his Majesty whether we resided in our own houses or in those of others, but that the loss of our comfort and convenience was of great importance to us. At that time, I continued, three of us, namely, Father Angelo, Scipel, and myself, were selected by his Majesty for his immediate service; and being without intermission engaged at the palace, we had taken a small house in Peking, that we might

better attend to his Majesty's orders. The other five resided near the Emperor's palace of Hae-tien, in a house purchased by permission; and when any one of them should have work to execute for the Emperor, he would be gladly received into my house, or another which Don Pedrini was preparing. These and other arguments of the same nature I found it necessary to employ before the mandarins of the Board, who were not acting by command, and had no interest in the business. They were satisfied with my reasons, and promised to submit them to the Governor; and as the subject was never revived, I suppose they must have met with his approbation.

On the 24th of June, 1723, the mother of the reigning Emperor Young-Chin died; and recollecting what had happened at the obsequies of the Emperor Kang-hy, I resolved rather to die than again to be implicated in such abominations. Accordingly I wrote to our five companions who were at Hae-tien, warning them against any participation in the impending ceremonies, unless in the manner that we had followed the funeral of Kang-hy's mother; and entreated them to attend at the place where we had been on this latter occasion, instead of that at which we had met at Kang-hy's own death.

After sending the letter, I went to the Too-yoo-soo to procure mourning, which was distributed to all the Europeans at the expense of the state. The mandarins asked me in what part of the palace the Europeans had assembled for Kang-hy's obsequies, and for those of his mother; whether we had gone to the Kiw-scian, that is, the golden mountain; and what ceremonies we had performed upon these occasions. I related what has been described above, and concluded by saying that we were permitted to enter the Tsy-nin-koong, and to remain there some time clothed in mourning, and seated on the ground precisely as we had done on the death of Kang-hy's mother. The mandarins replied, that that would do. They however referred the whole matter to certain authorities, who decided that the Europeans should go to another place, the name of which has now escaped my memory. It was fortunate for us that matters took this turn; for if the mandarins had resolved to send us into the Loong-tan-men, in obedience to our instructions from Rome we had determined to refuse. This new trial which I so nar-

rowly escaped, was another reason for hastening my return to Europe.

Neither I nor the other Europeans knew where to make inquiries concerning the part of the palace where we were expected to meet, nor could we guess how we were to act. Unable to ascertain whether I could lawfully be present or not, I resolved not to enter the palace with the other missionaries during the funeral rites, but to show myself to the mandarins after the ceremony was completed. It so happened, however, that the other missionaries were not obliged to take part in the rites, having arrived after the libation of wine had been performed.

In the afternoon some of my companions returned to the palace, and I went straight to the Too-yoo-soo, where I remained till they came out again. I was afterwards informed that when they had arrived on the spot, they were required to do nothing but to stand apart in a rank, where they remained till the ceremony was over, without performing any prostrations.

We afterwards continued to wear mourning, but were not called upon to take part in any other ceremonies; for according to the will of the deceased Empress, the obsequies were not to be protracted beyond three days, in order that the Emperor might resume without delay the government of so vast an empire.

His Majesty had taken it into his head to have a fountain constructed which should never cease to play. We were accordingly asked by command, whether any of us were able to contrive it. A Frenchman answered to the effect that two of his countrymen had lately arrived who would undertake such a work. Father Angelo, through me as interpreter, replied without hesitation, that he felt equal to the task. The others declared themselves ignorant of such matters. Father Angelo had already begun a design to be submitted to the Emperor, when I was informed that the fountain required by the superstitious monarch owed its origin to the following circumstance. His Majesty had demanded of a certain Bonze, who was believed to be possessed of miraculous powers, how his dynasty could be rendered perpetual—and the Bonze had replied that this might be attained whenever a fountain should be constructed whose waters should never cease to flow upon the figure

of a dragon. Those who gave me this information, deeming it wrong to encourage such heathen superstition, had unanimously declared that they were unable to execute the work. I had inquired of the courtiers, who issued the order, what might be the object of the Emperor, but they replied that it was merely for his own amusement. Nevertheless, being well satisfied of his superstitious intention, I deemed it my duty to prevent Father Angelo from undertaking the work, especially as by means of polite excuses and suitable representations he could avoid it without giving offence. Accordingly I communicated my opinion to Father Angelo, and found much difficulty in inducing him to adopt it.

Soon after this dangerous and delicate business had been so well arranged, that even in the Palace the fountain was no longer mentioned, the Disposer of all things exposed me to further trials. The Emperor commanded that Father Angelo should be required to state whether he was able to assist in the manufacture of bells in bronze, of which he sent him the models. From the peculiar shape of these bells, and from the inscriptions upon them, it appeared they were destined for the worship and temples of idols; and some courtiers moreover told me that the Emperor intended to place them, together with a mass of bows and arrows, in the belly of an enormous idol which he had erected in a spacious temple situated near the palace. I was, therefore, satisfied that Father Angelo could not undertake such a work without sharing in the sin of idolatry; and before the answer was returned, I cautioned him not to betray by his gestures that he understood such things. Father Angelo listened to what I had to say, but as he was well informed in mechanics, so was he deficient in theology and philosophy, and accordingly opposed my representations upon the subject, desiring me to state that he understood what was required, and was ready to take part in it. The courtiers perceiving that he was determined to please the Emperor, and that I objected, severely reprimanded me for thus placing myself in opposition to his Majesty's will and pleasure.

Finding that I was now entirely exposed, I freely declared that although Father Angelo might be capable of such a work, he could not undertake it, because our religion prohibited any

participation in the manufacture of things intended for the service of idols. Hereupon they threatened to inform the Emperor of my conduct: I replied, that being well acquainted with the manners of the court, I knew what must then be my fate, and was prepared to die rather than do that which was most strictly forbidden by my religion. By this they perceived that I had fully decided upon my line of conduct; and, being well disposed towards me, they agreed to report to his Majesty that Father Angelo was unacquainted with such work. The latter, finding himself disappointed, became greatly incensed, saying that I had deprived him of the honour of being employed in the service of his Majesty, and immediately went away to our residence at Haetien, declaring that he would no longer live in the same house with me, and that for the future he would have some other interpreter.

Having again found myself in the critical alternative of either consenting to further the interests of idolatry or causing much prejudice to the mission, I determined upon returning to Naples; and this resolution was confirmed by a circumstance which happened a few days afterwards. In order to excite the Chinese Christians to a more frequent fulfilment of their devotional duties, I had obtained the privilege of consecrating small Agnuses for the acquisition of indulgences; and on Friday mornings I performed a service in my chapel, during which I distributed Agnuses to those who attended. Having been informed of this, some of my opponents said, in the presence of several Christians, that I had no authority to consecrate Agnuses, and that I imposed upon the credulity of my congregation. My friends resented this attack upon my character, and a bitter dispute ensued, in consequence of which the contending parties came to my house to ascertain the truth. I immediately produced the diploma granting me the privilege, and satisfied them all.

This fresh incident convinced me still more that my efforts were maliciously counteracted by my enemies, and scarcely produced anything but scandal and discord. Considering, therefore, how little I could effect in China for the propagation of Christianity, and how repeatedly I was exposed to the danger either of participating in idolatrous practices or of perishing, in obedience to the Holy word,—"But when they persecute you in

this city, flee ye into another," I resolved to return to Naples; not, however, with the intention of living in idleness, but with a view of devoting all my time and energies to the promotion of the great object of the Christian mission.

The project of quitting the post assigned to me by my superiors had previously occurred to my mind, as stated above, and had often been the subject of my prayers: nevertheless it was a step of so serious a nature, that I dared not execute it on my sole responsibility. Now, however, I placed myself under the patronage of the holy apostle Saint Matthew, shut myself up, and went through a course of religious exercises. After several days of constant meditation and prayer, I felt so strengthened in my purpose, that I finally resolved to depart.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Permission to quit China—Farewell Presents—Departure from Peking—Cheap Travelling—Variations of Climate—Arrival at Canton—Pecuniary Difficulties—Supernatural Agency—Providential Occurrence.

No European had ever asked leave to quit the Emperor's service, unless he happened to be disabled by some constitutional complaint. During Kang-hy's reign it would have been impossible for me, who was in perfect health, to obtain such a permission; nor did it appear easy to procure it now from Young Chin. Yet as he was still sorrowing for his father's death, and great indulgence is generally shown in China to persons recently bereft of their parents, I hoped to succeed by alleging a similar loss. Accordingly, I applied to the Emperor's sixteenth brother, who expressed himself well inclined in my favour, and advised me to petition the Too-yoo-soo. This Board referred me to his Majesty's thirteenth brother, who had the charge of the collection of clocks and watches, and was consequently my immediate superior. The prince kept me a long time in suspense, with a profusion of gracious smiles and words; sometimes he even turned aside as he passed, and pretended not to see me whilst I waited for him on my knees. At length I discovered that, in spite of all his promises, he was opposed to my departure; and knowing the magic power of gifts in China, I took all the European curiosities I still had in my possession, and sent them to his residence. They were all accepted, which was a good omen; and soon after the joyful announcement was sent me that the Emperor, in consideration of the services I had rendered to his father, had been pleased to grant my petition, ordering moreover that I should receive some valuable farewell gifts of silk and porcelain.

On the 13th of November the prince made me go with him to the imperial wardrobe, and there bade me choose any article that I liked. In obedience to his command, I fixed upon four

porcelain vases and as many pieces of silk; whereupon a contest ensued, the prince insisting that I should take more, and I protesting that I had enough, nor was he satisfied until I had accepted two hundred pieces of porcelain. After this I performed the usual prostrations to return thanks, and quitted the Palace for ever. On bidding me farewell, the prince particularly advised me to choose a lucky day for my departure, a choice which these heathens always make by means of superstitious ceremonies; and on my answering, to the great astonishment of the bystanders, that all days were alike, he observed to them, "You need not wonder at this, for the Europeans do not believe that there are some days more propitious than others."

As the late Emperor Kang-hy had only seven years before strictly forbidden that any one of his subjects should be allowed to go out of China, I now saw no possibility of taking my pupils away with me, and consequently resolved to leave them at Canton under the care of a friend. Fortunately, however, the Emperor's sixteenth brother, on hearing of my approaching departure, sent me a rich present of silk stuffs, two saddle-horses, and various articles of Chinese manufacture; and having submitted, when I went to thank him, that the exportation of horses was prohibited, and that I wanted a special permission for the purpose, he said, "Write a memorial, and state the number of horses, men, and arms you wish to export, and it shall be granted." In this spontaneous offer of such a permission, I could not fail to perceive the agency of the Almighty, for the purpose of enabling me to take my pupils to Europe.

After surmounting various obstacles, which need not be detailed, on the 15th of November, 1723, I at last left that Babylon, Peking, with my four pupils and their Chinese master, myself in one litter, the two youngest boys in another, the other three and two servants on horseback. The wind blew so furiously, that it upset our litters several times, and it was intensely cold. It seemed as if the Evil one, foreseeing the great good which at some future time would arise from my little flock of Chinese, had mustered all his forces to drive us back to that capital of his dominions.

At the end of thirty-five days we arrived at Nan-chang-foo, without rain, snow, or any other inconvenience, so that with the

exception of the first day of my starting from Peking, the remainder of my journey was safe and fortunate. For the two litters and four horses, one of the servants having ridden one of mine, I paid sixty-one taels, which is equivalent to about eighteen pounds. In the province of Peking, where provisions are much dearer than in others, I generally paid for our dinner six or seven fens, and the same for our supper and lodgings, which is less than sixpence per day; we however carried our own beds, for the inns in China do not supply them. As we advanced southward the prices diminished, till the whole daily expense amounted to not more than five fens a head. The dinner consisted of a vegetable soup, two different sorts of meat, and as much rice as we could eat; wine and fruit, not being included in the fare, were paid extra.

We then hired a boat, which for less than two pounds took us to Nan-gan-foo, in eleven days. On arriving at the Meiling Pass we were welcomed by a wonderful sight. When we left Peking, owing to the excessive cold, no verdure of any kind was to be perceived. In about a week we began to see a few withered leaves still clinging to the trees, and now on reaching the summit of the mountain we found the trees clothed with luxuriant foliage. A few days after, we came to a country where the harvest was at its height; and on my arrival at Canton, on the 10th of January, we found a perfect spring, so that during a journey of fifty-six days we went through the four seasons of the year, but in an inverted order, because we were travelling from north to south.

At Canton I rejoiced to find that there was an English vessel still lying in the harbour, owing to a Custom-house officer having seized a valuable clock, which he would neither restore nor pay for. I lost no time in endeavouring to secure a passage to Europe; but I was told by several friends that it was not to be had for any sum of money, and that I must give up the idea of returning that year. Stimulated by an ardent desire to lay the foundation of my college, I made further inquiries for myself and four only of the Chinese, intending to leave Lucio, who was very weak in body and mind, and rather badly disposed. Thanks to a combination of favourable circumstances, I succeeded in obtaining the places I wanted for about one hundred

and fifty pounds sterling. This important point being thus settled, it was now necessary to pay the stipulated sum, and I had no small difficulty in finding it.

I had a credit on the agent of the Propaganda for about three hundred and fifty pounds, which I had lent him on various occasions to supply the wants of the missionaries in China; and although he had a sufficient sum at his command, he would not consent to pay me, alleging that the general exigencies of the service must take precedence of individual cases. In vain did I represent that the money I was thus claiming had not been earned, but lent, and that unless he returned a part at least, I should find myself obliged to remain at Canton with my pupils; but he was not to be shaken in his resolution. My distress may easily be conceived. But whilst my colleague thus faithlessly rewarded me for my zeal, Divine Providence again came to my assistance. A good Christian from Siam, being apprised of my difficulties, brought me about one hundred and twenty pounds quite unexpectedly, which he offered to lend me without any security or interest, on the sole condition that I should request the agent to repay them when convenient. Upon this I immediately went to pay the captain, and thus everything was settled for my own passage and that of four Chinese.

The news of the honours that had been conferred upon me in Peking previous to my departure, had reached Canton by means of the Gazette, and consequently I was extremely well received by all the authorities of the province, especially the president of the Customs. Owing to the same circumstance, I was also treated with great consideration by the English, not only during my sojourn in Canton, but also at sea and on my arrival in London.

So many and various were the things which engrossed my attention, that on the following morning when I went to celebrate mass I was unusually agitated. I had scarcely begun, "In nomine Patris et Filii," when methought I distinctly heard these words,—"Have I given him to thee, that thou shouldst forsake him? Do thy best to take him; and if thou failest, then leave him." I instantly understood that they related to Lucio, though he was not named. Twenty-one years have now elapsed, but this mysterious occurrence remains clearly impressed on my

memory. Thus convinced of my error in not having exerted myself to procure a passage for Lucio, I resolved to try my utmost endeavours to that effect. After mass, however, I was again absorbed in multifarious duties, and my resolution, as well as the extraordinary words I had heard, were entirely forgotten.

The next day when I said mass, and was again reciting that part of the service already mentioned, I heard the same voice repeating the words, "Have I given him to thee," &c., and this time I was deeply struck with awe. I must here mention, that I never allowed myself to be disturbed or deceived by such occurrences as this, always confiding in a better guide, and employing the aids of reason; but these words now acted upon me so powerfully, that on the same day I went to the captain to see upon what conditions he might be induced to take Lucio. I met him in the street, and had scarcely time to say that I wished to ask a favour of him, when the chief supercargo came up and informed me that he stood in need of my assistance. He then related to me the circumstance mentioned above, of a clock valued at four hundred pounds, and belonging to the Company, which the president of the Customs had seized, and would neither restore nor pay for. The supercargo was aware that the president had treated me with the most marked respect, and accordingly concluded that I might persuade him either to return the clock or pay its value. I satisfied the supercargo by my answer, that I was quite ready to serve him, and if necessary would delay my embarkation, which was fixed for the following day. He returned me many thanks, and directed the captain to convey my luggage on board immediately, together with my Chinese passengers, and to take the same care of all my things as if they were the property of the Company; and upon this he went away. I was now left with the captain, and by means of the interpreter begged of him to take Lucio, assuring him that he should be fully satisfied with respect to the expenses.

In answer to this, I expected nothing less than a decided refusal or some exorbitant demand; but the captain, who had been present while the supercargo requested my assistance, immediately replied, that I was welcome to bring Lucio, even though the expenses had not been mentioned. I thanked him for his

kindness, and afterwards took an opportunity of making him some return for it. When I got home, my friends were greatly surprised to hear what had happened.

I lost no time in dispatching a message to the mandarin of the Customs, advising him to restore the clock or pay its value. The answer to this message was an invitation to supper. I accordingly went, and when the business was mentioned, he said that it had been a mistake on the part of his steward, and ordered it to be returned. Great was the joy of the English, who in consequence of this treated me with great consideration during the whole voyage.

CHAPTER XXV.

Setting Sail for England—Chinese in Trouble—Staying a Storm—Again—Chinese Modesty—Mr. Edmund Godfrey—A Substitute for the Compass—Anonymous Liberality.

On the 23rd of January, 1724, I at last embarked for London with the five Chinese, and a month after we crossed the Line. Up to this time the Chinese were permitted the use of the captain's cabin, and had they been allowed to continue in it, the voyage would have been most agreeable. But the powers of darkness were highly incensed that a vessel belonging to their own dominions should convey the first elements of an institution which was destined to prove so prejudicial to their interests. Accordingly they contrived to cover the hands and face of one of the Chinese with a saline humour, which increased to such a degree, that in a few days the poor youth became a most loathsome object. The surgeon, who was a German heretic, and a most determined enemy to our religion, declared that the complaint was leprosy, and that it might prove contagious. At the same time it also happened that Lucio U, who was about thirteen years of age, and rather weak in intellect, made himself obnoxious by dirtying the cabin, where he slept with his companions. The English lived, ate, and drank in this same place, and their ideas of cleanliness were greatly offended; and the captain determined to exclude the Chinese from his cabin.

The ship being very heavily laden, there remained no other place where my pupils could be sheltered from the weather; and when their clothes got wet, they were obliged to wear them till the sun or the natural heat of their bodies had dried them. It was fortunate that we had lost sight of the Chinese coast before these events took place; for the English swore that they would otherwise have put them all on shore again. I need not say to how many hardships the poor Chinese were exposed during a

voyage of more than four months. I was in continual expectation of seeing them all perish; and this painful anxiety was not a little aggravated by the brutal conduct of the surgeon. This malignant heretic, upon seeing the boy above mentioned in so deplorable a condition, seriously told me several times that he had thoughts of giving him a powerful dose that would carry him off, and I had no small difficulty in dissuading him from so villainous an action. When he afterwards saw them all suffering from wet, he turned to me and said, "Signor Ripa, we must throw them overboard one after the other, for it is impossible to keep them alive till the end of the journey."

The patience with which these five Chinese underwent all their hardships was almost incredible. Not one of them betrayed the least angry feeling, or expressed any regret at having undertaken the voyage. They were always cheerful and contented; but I was especially edified by their master. He was a man about thirty years old, who had left behind him a mother and a wife, with four children; I had baptized him only a few months before I had left Peking, and though from so recent a convert no one could have expected much, yet when I exhorted him to be patient, he would with a smiling countenance beg me not to give myself any trouble about the matter, as it did not trouble him, and he knew that all this happened *by the will of God.*

On the night of the 10th of April we had a tremendous storm. From the roaring of the sea and the winds, it seemed as though the vessel would be dashed into a thousand pieces, at every moment. This was the first time in my life that I had seen a sea-storm in all its terrific fury. Thanks to Heaven it did not last more than an hour; after this the wind abated, and was succeeded by a heavy rain, which continued to fall without intermission, till the whole crew was reduced to the greatest distress. Not only were their clothes completely soaked, but the water penetrated their chests and the cabins of the officers, and injured a part of the cargo. I was more dead than alive, being afflicted as usual with the sea-sickness, and feeling deeply for the forlorn situation of my poor Chinese, who were drenched with rain and benumbed with cold. Having desired them to join with me, we prayed to God for some time, and in the fulness of my faith I

threw an Agnus of his Holiness Innocent XI. into the raging sea, and it was truly wonderful how the furious winds became gentle zephyrs, the sea calm and quiet, and the air so mild that we seemed to be in the midst of the most delightful spring. One of the heretical pilots, who understood the Portuguese language, told me, that when he and the other sailors, who were well acquainted with these seas, beheld such an extraordinary change in the weather as had never been read or heard of, they one and all exclaimed that the course of nature had changed, or else that a miracle had been wrought, and he repeated several times that he had witnessed a miracle which was the work of God. This, from the mouth of a heretic, confirmed me in my belief that so much grace had been vouchsafed for the preservation of the Chinese, who had prayed to that effect, through the intercession of our Holy Father.

On the 7th of May the sky darkened, and the wind set in from the north-west, threatening a terrible storm. Being joined by the Chinese, we again had recourse to our usual remedy, namely, prayer; and we again threw into the sea an Agnus of Innocent XI. The tempest died away, but the wind mixed with rain continued to blow with great violence, the ship remaining stationary with her rudder tied up. It is usual for the wind to continue during thirty or forty days; and the ship's water being only sufficient for thirty days, it appeared dangerous to continue in this position till the wind changed. A council was therefore held among the officers, who decided upon staying one week longer where we then were, and if the wind should not become favourable, to sail back again and winter in the island of Mascaregna. It was really a gloomy sight to see the officers, those particularly who had supported this ill-judged resolution, sitting pale and mute in my cabin, and from time to time heaving deep sighs. What filled them with dismay was the knowledge that at that time a large pirate ship was cruising on the coasts of that island, bearing a black flag with a death's head on it, intimating that no quarter was given. Under these unhappy circumstances, I informed the Chinese that we must again implore the intervention of God. When we had done so, not only did the wind subside, but on the following morning it became so favourable that we resumed our course.

On our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope I was desirous, for the sake of rest as well as economy, not to lodge in the same house with the captain and the other English gentlemen, but they would not allow me on any account. The Chinese, whom I had taken ashore for the purpose of refreshing them from their sufferings, soon begged me to return aboard, not being able to endure the behaviour of the English. They were indeed teased in every way. I recollect that once having heard a confusion of voices, among which I could distinguish that of John In, I went up to see what it might be. Upon entering the room, where many English and Dutchmen were assembled, I found that one of them, for the amusement of the company, had been pushing the landlord's daughter against the youth, who, weeping and trembling with dread from such temptation, had at last crept under the bed.

Upon my arrival they ceased tormenting the poor lad, but he still continued weeping and trembling, and I had much trouble in persuading him to remain on shore for a short time with the others. He earnestly entreated that I would instantly return with him to the ship, saying that such gross and dissolute manners were too much for his feelings.

As I was well aware that before our arrival in Naples I should have to incur great expenses, having some good Chinese clothes, I was determined to wear them while passing through the countries of the heretics. On board ship I always wore my Chinese dress, and being once asked what sort of habiliments I intended to put on when I arrived in London, where I must appear before the Company, and perhaps at Court? I replied that, having no other layman's dress, I must of necessity continue to wear my Chinese costume. Upon this the supercargo, a heretic, named Edmund Godfrey, without my knowledge, had a complete suit made for me, and insisted on my accepting it as a present. The buttons alone had cost him about two pounds at the Cape of Good Hope.

When we reached the latitude of St. Helena, where all the East India Company's ships had strict orders to touch, we sailed for several days without being able to discover the island. As the season was far advanced, the officers at last resolved that unless it could be found within twenty-four hours, we must sail

direct for England; but they entertained great fears of incurring the displeasure of their employers. Upon this I immediately told the Chinese that at sunrise on the following day, which was that of St. Anthony of Padua, I expected them to join me in prayer in order to implore the patronage of this great saint. They did so; and our fervent supplications were not even ended, when, to the great joy of all on board, the much-desired coast appeared in sight.

During a sojourn of six days at St. Helena, there being no inns in the island, we lived in the house of one of the officers, together with the captain and the supercargoes, where we had excellent fare and accommodation. At the end of our stay I expected to have a good sum to pay; but on inquiring of our host what I owed him for myself and the Chinese, to my great surprise he answered, that the account had been settled; and however I might press him to tell me the name of our secret benefactor, he never would comply with my request. How mortified I felt at receiving this anonymous charity it is not difficult to conceive; but no one can imagine the consolation I experienced on seeing that Divine Providence should so mercifully attend to our wants as to inspire a heretic to pay a sum for us which could not have amounted to less than thirty pounds. Having reasons to suspect that this was an act of Mr. Edmund Godfrey's, I called upon him for the purpose of returning thanks, but he would not even allow me to mention the subject.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Casting Anchor at Deal—Importunity of Boatmen—Rapacity of Custom-House Officers—National Monuments—Liberality of King George I.—Of the East India Company's Directors—Of Mr. Edmund Godfrey—Sailing for Leghorn.

On the 5th of September we at length had the happiness of perceiving the coast of England, and on the 7th we cast anchor at Deal. With a favourable wind the voyage from that place to London can be performed in three days, but owing to the uncertainty of the weather it generally takes a fortnight. On the other hand, by landing at Deal, and proceeding by the mail, which runs daily, one reaches London in less than forty hours, and the fare is only twenty-six shillings. Upon this consideration I resolved to quit the ship, in order to go and make such arrangements with the Directors of the East India Company as might prevent our property from being seized and sold by auction, according to their regulations.

Meanwhile the custom-house officers came on board to watch that nothing was disembarked; and I was then induced to alter my plan, agreeing to pay four pounds sterling to the boatmen who had brought them, on the condition that they should convey us to London within two days. As however they did not get ready by the time they had fixed for departure, I determined to start by the mail. On this occasion I met with an adventure which excited the merriment of the spectators. The boat in which I was conveyed ashore could not come up close to the beach, owing to the shallowness of the water, and one of the sailors undertook to carry me on his back. The distance he had to go was about twenty yards, but when scarcely half-way he began to totter, and call to his friends for assistance; and before they arrived he dropped me into the water up to my knees.

No sooner had we landed than we were annoyed by the

sailors with whom we had promised to proceed. They pretended that we should either keep our engagement or indemnify them, and threatened to prosecute us. So loud were their vociferations, that in a few moments a great crowd gathered around us. Unable to speak English, or even to understand what they said, to our great confusion we were obliged to suffer their importunity till very late in the evening, when, thanks to Heaven, there came a gentleman, who, taking compassion on us, reproved them bitterly and sent them to bed.

Whilst thus molested by these sailors, we were summoned to take our luggage to the custom-house that it might be examined. In the mean time the man who had brought us this order began to watch us very attentively lest we should smuggle any thing out of our bag. The fellow spoke with such kindness and benevolence as to make us suppose that he was a Catholic in his heart. Our luggage consisted of a change of clothes, a writing-case, in which were several packets of letters, the geographical map of China, which I myself had engraved, and sundry other things of very little value. All this was searched with a rigour which can scarcely be conceived; but as there was no prohibited article to extort a fee, they seized my Chinese dress, on pretence that it was silk from China. They then laid hold of my geographical map, of which I recommended them to take great care, saying that the King, to whom I intended to present it, would send for it soon. Not yet satisfied with this, they also wished to intercept my letters, alleging that they must be sent through the post-office. Upon this I locked my desk, and gave it to them, saying that I would send for it when I arrived in London; but they would not take charge of it, and insisted on my sending the letters by post. As I would not consent to this, they kept us in custody, whilst the officer above-mentioned, pretending to advise me as a friend, recommended me to put an end to the difference by making a sacrifice of four pounds, as else we should never get out of the custom-house. This dispute was carried on till midnight, when another officer came out of an inner room, and, blaming both parties, ordered them to be satisfied with half-a-crown, which I immediately paid.

At Deal we entered into an agreement with the post-master, to pay twenty-seven shillings and sixpence each, to be paid

half there and half in London. We set out at noon, together with a colonel and the wife of a merchant, the women of England being indulged with such freedom owing to the entire absence of restraint which prevails in their island.

Great, doubtless, were the favours which Divine Providence granted us throughout our voyage from Peking to London, yet those we received during our stay in England were still greater. To describe them minutely would take volumes; suffice it to say, that these Protestants, among whom we were apprehensive of losing the property we brought from China, showered favours of every kind upon us.

It is customary in the vast city of London to publish, twice a-week, all remarkable things which happen within its limits: accordingly, soon after we landed, the public were informed that Father Ripa had brought five boys from China, for the purpose of educating them at Naples, and sending them back to preach the Holy Gospel in their native country. This was then mentioned before the King of England, George I., one day when conversing with several great lords of his court and foreigners of distinction. His Majesty expressed a wish to see us; and the Sardinian ambassador, thinking that I was a Piedmontese, offered to present us.

We had been but a few days in London, when, one evening, on returning to our inn, I was informed that the ambassador had been to visit me. Being much surprised at this unexpected honour, I did not fail to pay my respects to him; on which occasion he signified to me that the King desired to see us. Accordingly, a few days after, we all six repaired to the palace, where his Majesty, in the presence of the royal family and the lords of his court, conversed with us for about three hours, and appeared so much interested that a certain great Protestant bishop who was present complained to some of the nobility. At length the King, becoming fatigued with the long audience, commanded that the Chinese should dine at the table which was laid daily for the lords of his court, and that I should dine with the Duchess of Arlington, his relation. This was so ordered by his Majesty because that lady had begged permission to entertain us all. It pleased the King to honour us still further in various ways which it is not necessary for me here to describe; but I will

not omit to state that, after all the property which we brought from China had been examined by the proper officers of the customs, it was transferred, by his Majesty's order, and free of all expense, to the ship that was to carry us to Italy.

With respect to certain other duties payable to the East India Company, the directors not only remitted them, but invited me to their public meeting, and showed themselves ready to assist me in any way. They even asked me to dine with them, and sent some soldiers to escort our goods to the ship. Thus all our property left England without incurring any expense or suffering the least damage. Had we been obliged to pay the duty, it would have amounted to more than one hundred pounds.

At the last audience of the King, which was in the presence of the Duchess of Arlington, and lasted from nine o'clock in the evening until midnight, his Majesty made me accept a present of fifty pounds sterling.

Upon my return to London, after sixteen years' absence, I found it much improved; numbers of new buildings had been erected, and the old ones generally repaired. The church of St. Paul's, raised by these heretics to rival the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome, was now finished; and many Englishmen, who had never been at Rome, were persuaded that it had no equal in the world. It must, indeed, be admitted that, externally, it displays a fine style, and is altogether of superb magnificence; but, within, the proportions are worse than those of any other church that I remember to have seen. The body of the building is long and narrow, with a very lofty dome, painted in chiar-oscuro, and the whole is encrusted with *stucco*, without any marble embellishments. At a public audience, which the King gave in the presence of many of the nobility and ambassadors, he asked me which of the two churches I considered the finest building, St. Peter's or St. Paul's of London? I answered frankly, that, excepting the grand colonnade in front of St. Peter's, the exterior of St. Paul's was certainly finer than that of the other church; but that the interior of St. Paul's could bear no comparison with that of St. Peter's, which was infinitely superior to it in architecture, as well as in the statues and pictures with which it was enriched: whereas St. Paul's had neither statues nor pictures, and was besides constructed in very

bad proportions. Upon this the King, who had resided in Rome for some time, turned to some lords of his court, and supposing that I did not understand, said in French, "This is exactly the opinion of all foreigners upon the subject."

After having shown this newly-erected church to the Chinese, I took them to see the Royal Hospital for Seamen. This edifice is indeed well worth seeing, for its great extent, the excellence of its architecture, and the pictures in the interior, which Sir James Tornel [Thornhill] was then painting. The Royal Palace has nothing splendid in its appearance; but, if one may judge from some parts of it which are still extant, it must have been magnificent—for, having been partly consumed by fire in times past, it has never been completely restored. We went to see a church which, though built in the Gothic style, is yet one of the most remarkable in London, both for its architecture and the vast number of monuments it contains. We also went to see another church, at Windsor, which is equally admired. But, as whatever is worthy of note in this capital has been described by writers far better qualified for the task, I refer the reader to them, deeming this short notice sufficient for my present purpose.

On the 5th of October we set sail from London for Leghorn, where we arrived safely on the 1st of November. Mr. Edmund, the gentleman whom I have had occasion to mention several times, had requested me to take charge of a letter for a certain merchant, without giving me any intimation of its contents: having now delivered it, I found, to my great astonishment, that it contained a letter of credit to be filled up for any sum of money that I might choose to demand. I was greatly surprised to find so much kindness and charity in persons who had been brought up in open hostility to our holy faith. However, as I was not in need of more money, having still the sum that the King of England had given me, I deemed it proper to decline this favour. But as Mr. Edmund had so strongly recommended me, the merchant above mentioned sent me a cask of wine and a case of sweetmeats for our use during the voyage to Naples.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Arrival at Naples—St. January's Blood—Permission to establish the Chinese College—Reception of two Chinese Students.

Upon my arrival at Naples I received the intelligence that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda were displeased at my having quitted my post without their permission; and objected to keeping the five Chinese, saying that their finances could not even cover their present expenses. I had not proceeded direct from Leghorn to Rome, because I knew that they were desirous of having some young Chinese in their own College, and was afraid they might compel me to leave them mine. I was therefore glad to hear that I had no occasion to fear any such occurrence; and having been summoned into the presence of the Pope, Benedict XIII., I submitted to him the plan of the religious community which I had in contemplation. On hearing that I undertook to find the necessary funds without the assistance of the Propaganda, his Holiness immediately gave his approbation, and referred my petition to the proper channels, that it might go through the usual forms. But as I proposed, for various sufficient reasons, to establish my institution at Naples, and not in Rome, the president of the Sacred Congregation and several other cardinals strongly objected to this, on the ground that I must not be permitted "to raise one altar against another." After a great many negotiations, however, I was allowed to begin at Naples, on the understanding that, in order not to commit the Holy See, the formal approbation should be withheld until my intended establishment had been set up on a proper footing. His Holiness directed the Secretary of State to recommend me to the Archbishop of Naples, as well as to the government, and promised a contribution of a thousand pounds as soon as his finances should permit.

In consequence of my unusual exertions of mind and body during the three months that I was detained in Rome, my health

had suffered so much that, on my return to Naples, I was in a constant state of uneasiness and dejection. I now despaired of being able to find the assistance I wanted for the execution of my project, and began to regret that I had not accepted the accommodation that had been offered me by the Propaganda for my pupils and myself. Having ever been accustomed to see me in cheerful spirits, the Chinese were much disturbed at my present depression. One day they entered my room and complained of my supposed intention to abandon them, after they had undergone so many sacrifices in order to follow me. I reassured them as well as I could; and, to confirm them more and more in the faith, I took the earliest opportunity of accompanying them to worship the blood of St. January. The saint, who probably was much gratified at receiving the homage of persons who had come from so great a distance to receive holy orders, and, on returning to their idolatrous country, to shed their blood in the cause of Christ, as he himself had done, was pleased to console them in a very special manner. On reaching the Archiepiscopal Treasury, where the miraculous blood is preserved in a state of solidity, we were introduced by our friends into the presbytery, where we knelt before the holy altar. After a little time spent in prayer, the chaplain of the Treasury took the blood in his hands, and, to our infinite satisfaction, allowed us to view, admire, and kiss it. He even permitted us to take the little phials in our own hands and to turn them about as we liked, which we did to our extreme spiritual comfort. On a sudden, while one of the Chinese held the phials in his hands, and we were looking at the blood, still solid in the upper part of the largest, it began to melt at the bottom, and continued so doing until the whole of it became liquid, when the chaplain began to chant the *Te Deum*. As the Chinese were still in their national dress, many of the crowd, who had assembled to await the miracle, mistook them for Turks, and immediately circulated the report throughout Naples that some young Mahomedans, on seeing such a prodigy, had embraced Christianity. This event edified my pupils so much, that a few days afterwards, when I proposed to show them some other sight, one of them declined going, saying that, after having been present at such a miracle, he did not care to see anything else.

My application for a licence to establish our community at Naples was presented by the Nuncio to the Viceroy, Cardinal Althan, upon the special recommendation of the Pope. It was granted seven months afterwards, on the condition that none should be admitted into the institution but native Chinese or others who would take an oath to go as missionaries to China; and that the right of presentation should belong to the sovereign. As these restrictions were incompatible with my plan, and as, moreover, the Court of Rome objected to this assumption of the patronage, I resolved to repair to Vienna, in the hope of obtaining better conditions from the Emperor Charles VI. I was honoured with the kindest reception, both by him and the Empress. Not only did he grant the exemption that I implored, but moreover promised the assignment of eight hundred ducats a year for my intended foundation, and a gratuitous passage in the ships of the Ostend Company for all our students.

Unfortunately whilst I was so successful at Vienna fresh obstacles were raised at Rome, where the Sacred Congregation now claimed the right of examining the professors of the intended institute before they were appointed. To this the Neapolitan Government would not submit, and thus three years more were wasted in troublesome negotiations. The three powers at length came to an understanding, and in April, 1732, after seven long years of anxiety and vexation, my efforts were crowned with the happiest success. It was agreed that the new institution should consist, as I had proposed, of a College and a Congregation.

The College to consist of young Chinese and Indians, to be qualified for the missionary profession at the expense of the foundation.

The Congregation to be composed of ecclesiastics, willing to impart the necessary instruction to the collegians without any pecuniary remuneration.

The collegians to make these five vows:—1st. To live in poverty; 2nd. To obey their superiors; 3rd. To enter holy orders; 4th. To join the missions in the East, according to the disposition of the Propaganda; 5th. To serve for life the Roman Catholic Church, without ever entering any other community.

The members of the congregation to make no vow; but, besides attending to the education of the collegians, to live in

community, and to perform the duties of the church belonging to the institution.

Whilst I was employing every means to effect this important arrangement, a great deal of my attention and time was also required to surmount the obstacles which official chicanery continually raised against my receiving the sums granted by the Pope and the Emperor. The purchase of a house of convenient size and situation was also a task replete with difficulties; nor were these surmounted until I, together with the five Chinese, offered up a special form of prayer to the Holy Virgin, during nine consecutive days. All my troubles were however amply rewarded on the 25th of July of the same year, when the opening of our congregation and college took place with all the solemnities and rejoicings suitable for the celebration of the auspicious event.

Some time after the Sacred Congregation sent me two new pupils. In order that the same forms may be observed on all similar occasions, I will describe the ceremony of their reception.

On entering our hall they were embraced and welcomed by all our community; I then led them into the church, and kneeling before the high altar, with one of them on each side, I thanked the Lord for their safe arrival, and recommended them to the Almighty, offering myself up for the service of them all, and imploring his Divine Majesty to assist me in the fulfilment of my duties. We next went round to the other altars, praying before each in succession. After this they were conducted to my room, where I washed and kissed their feet, my first consultor holding the basin, and the second the towels. Finally their name, surname, country, and age, were entered on the register.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Examination of two Chinese Students—Their Departure for China—Death of John In—Flight of Lucio U.—His Arrest and Trial—His Evasion and Recapture—Mysterious End.

EARLY in the year 1733 I informed the secretary of the Propaganda that my two pupils, Baptist Ku and John In, would soon terminate their studies, and that I consequently begged that due arrangements should be made for their examination; but for several months no orders were issued. It so happened, that at last the news of the expulsion of the European missionaries from China came to quicken the zeal of the Congregation. Accordingly, I was now desired to accompany them to Rome. When the examination was over, to the utmost satisfaction of the examiners, the Chinese took their oaths before the Sacred Congregation. On this occasion Cardinal Petra, turning to John In, said, he wished to make him a bishop, and the young priest replied he would rather be a cardinal. As his Eminence looked astonished at this answer, of which he had not immediately understood the meaning, John In, taking hold of the cardinal's cloak, added, "When I say I would rather be a cardinal than a bishop, I do not mean with such garments as those of your Eminence, but with my own black ones dyed with my own blood, shed for the sake of Christ." This reply was much admired by all the bystanders, and indeed by all Rome, throughout which it soon spread.

After receiving the Pope's benediction, and several privileges which his Holiness was pleased to grant them, they returned with me to Naples. In order that their dress should present some allusion to the martyrdom to which they aspired, they were provided with cassocks bound with crimson, and they departed on their mission accompanied by our most ardent prayers.

This expedition excited deep interest throughout the country,

and the Neapolitan Gazette thus expressed the general satisfaction: "By the latest accounts from China we learn that the Emperor continues to increase in severity against our holy religion, and not content with having banished thirty-five European missionaries who had been exiled to Canton by his command, he has ordered the strictest search to be made after the very few remaining in Peking, who had concealed themselves. We are also informed that two of these have already been discovered. It is gratifying to know that at the very moment when this vineyard of the Lord is thus deprived of its spiritual labourers, two Chinese pupils of our new college, of the Sacred Family of Jesus, have embarked for China as Apostolic missionaries. Being Chinese, they will not so easily be discovered, and it is to be hoped that they will succeed in effecting a vast deal of good for the benefit of their native countrymen."

They arrived at Canton highly pleased with their voyage, and soon after they left it for the place of their destination. The letter, which gave a delightful account of their journey, was signed by them both. On opening a small note enclosed in the letter, I was thrown into the deepest affliction; it was written by John Ku alone, and bathed in his tears, and it announced the death of our most beloved John In, which happened on the 15th of October, 1735. This intelligence pierced my heart. I was afterwards informed that the death of our friend had been caused by fright at one of those immense fish which in the wide rivers of China occasionally spring up into the boats. He was seized with fever, which carried him off in five days, and he departed this life as a pious Christian, wholly absorbed in thought of the happiness hereafter.

During my long absence from Naples, caused by the protracted negotiations above described, my heart had often bled at the intelligence of the great irregularities with which some of the students were disgracing our rising community; but of all the miseries which for my sins I was doomed to undergo, none tortured my mind half so much as the following, which occurred some time after the opening of the college.

The Chinese priest, Lucio U, after committing many other transgressions, was now convicted of putting the lock of his room out of repair in order to prevent its being opened by his

superiors, and of pilfering nine shirts, five tunics, and six pair of shoes, from other rooms by means of false keys. This was culpable enough; but what was still worse, he spoke discreditably of our community, saying that we kept him starving and in rags, and that the moment he could get a passport he would run away. Having been apprised of his conduct, we ordered him to be locked up in a private room; but, a few hours after, he disappeared, and every search to find him proved useless. I was afterwards informed that he had taken refuge in a village in the diocese of Monte Casino, where he acted as curate, though he had only received orders on condition of his becoming a missionary. To prevent his continuing to lead a disorderly life, to the detriment of our college and of his own reputation, I wrote to the abbot of Monte Casino, to endeavour to secure, with the utmost secrecy, the person of his fugitive, and to force him to return to us, for which I promised to pay every expense that might be incurred. Soon after, having received intelligence that he had been taken into custody, I sent a member of our congregation to fetch him.

Before three months had elapsed Lucio had again effected his escape. He was seen in the church of the Trinità de Pellegrini, at Rome, by my own brother, who, when washing the pilgrims' feet, had to wash his also; but, as he pretended to be absent with my permission, and only for a short time, he excited no suspicion. Being provided with a pilgrim's passport, he actually spent the night in that church, but declined going to the Pope's table on the pretext that he was dressed in plain clothes. He was, however, stopped at Sinigaglia, with a forged certificate of priesthood upon his person, which he pretended to have received from the Archbishop of Naples. He then sent me a letter, in which, acknowledging his faults, he promised to make amends, and begged me to procure his release. I answered, that indeed he deserved no pity. But he had been with me from his infancy, during which time he had cost me an immense deal of trouble and expense; and, had I forsaken him, he would have been lost. Moreover, it was a matter of no small difficulty and expense to get these Chinese from such a distance. As the father of this new foundation, remembering the parable of the prodigal son, I determined to send for him, and to punish his

transgressions, employing at the same time the salutary means of spiritual exercises towards his amendment. Accordingly I despatched one of our brethren with a letter for the Vicar-General of Sinigaglia, directing him to forward it and await the answer in Rome, which I authorised him to open, in order to save him the trouble of going the whole journey in the event of the prisoner being dead.

In order to bring Lucio to a sense of repentance through fear, and at the same time to inspire him with courage, I also directed my messenger to send him the following letter in his name:—

"By the order of our Father Superior, I inform you that your letter is come to hand. What had been foretold to you so many times, both in public and in private, is now come to pass. Owing to your excessive pride you would never believe it; but you feel it now that 'Dominus tetigit me.' You ask for the testimonials of priestly orders to be saved from death, and, to comply with your request, they are sent to the Vicar; but they cannot save you from the dungeon or the galley, being the penalty due to your execrable forgery. You add that you are aware of having done wrong, and that you hope for pardon from God, as he forgives those who repent sincerely. But how can our Superior, who cannot search into men's hearts, believe in the sincerity of your professions, after you have deceived him so repeatedly? Nevertheless, hoping that the danger in which you are, and the sufferings which you have undergone, may truly induce you to reform—in order that he may not be wanting on his part, to afford you all the assistance that a father can bestow on his children, until by death you are hurled into the abyss, he has not only used his interest with the Vicar to diminish the punishment you deserve, but has actually offered to supply your daily wants in this college, should his entreaties ever succeed in obtaining your liberation. But this is very difficult to obtain, as you well know you have transgressed five oaths and vows approved of by the Holy See and every year renewed by you in our church. If you intend to amend your conduct and submit to fulfil our regulations, do implore God to assist you in the dangerous situation in which you are now placed."

Having received a favourable answer from the Vicar, Father Andrada proceeded to Sinigaglia, where the prisoner was intrusted to his care, with a copy of the sentence, in which he was strictly enjoined to return to the College, under pain of excommunication and suspension from divine service. Two days after their departure from Sinigaglia, they arrived at Loreto, where Lucio desired to confess. His request was complied with; no other person being present but the confessor, Lucio, and Father Andrada. Lucio confessed with great devotion and humility, to the great satisfaction of the confessor; but the Evil Spirit had taken possession of him, and whilst Father Andrada was confessing, he ran away from the church. The sentence sent me by the Vicar of Sinigaglia imported that Lucio had pleaded guilty to the forgery of testimonials of priesthood and the licence of the Archbishop of Naples, and of desertion and apostacy for the second time from the congregation; and had been condemned by the ecclesiastical court to twelve months' imprisonment in the Chinese college, with power to me, his Superior, to shorten the term of his imprisonment. Lucio's name was now struck out from the list of members of our community; but, having been informed that he was at Macerata, I requested the ecclesiastical court of this town to issue a warrant against him, promising to pay out of my own pocket for his bread allowance, in order to prevent any further scandal, and rescue him from perdition. A few weeks afterwards I was apprised of Lucio's imprisonment at Foligno, and I immediately laid the information before the Propaganda, in order that, *juris ordine servato*, they might proceed against him, and at least to sentence him to transportation as a convict to Civita-vecchia; especially as I had been assured that he was meditating on the means of escaping to Geneva. On this occasion I sent to the Propaganda a detailed history of the lamentable life of this incorrigible culprit. I was anxious that the Sacred Congregation should provide for his safe custody, that he might receive due punishment for his crimes, and be prevented from escaping to Geneva or China, which would have caused dreadful calamities; moreover, ending his days among Christians, he might still have saved his poor soul, redeemed with the blood of Christ.

The vicar of Foligno informed Father Andrada that he was under no apprehension about Lucio's custody, but he feared that the unwholesomeness of the prison might bring on an illness with him, and occasion an increase of expense, and that consequently to spare his sufferings he had hired a bed at a penny a-day, whereby his daily expense now amounted to fivepence. In answer to this letter Father Andrada intimated, that with respect to the state of the prison he should await the resolution of the Congregation; and as to the expense, he observed that Lucio having been struck out of the list of members of our community, I was only doing an act of charity towards him; that consequently he should receive nothing more than the Court allowed to the other prisoners, and if they were allowed a bed I would pay for it; but that otherwise I should not. Some time after, the vicar of Foligno informed me that the prosecution against Lucio was concluded, and that the documents had been transmitted to the Propaganda. To this he added, that both he and the bishop were anxiously waiting for the result of the decision of the Propaganda, and that, feeling for the poor man, who had already been two months in prison, the Court had allowed him a bed, as they considered it unbecoming for a priest to sleep on a plank. Lucio complained bitterly of his not being able to live on his scanty allowance, and begged for the addition of at least a penny more per day; but his application had not been granted.

At length I received a letter from the secretary of the Propaganda, informing me that his Holiness had issued orders for Lucio to be conveyed to Rome, where measures would be taken to prevent his running away for the future, and thus dispel any fear that he might ever return to China to the prejudice of the mission.

With this gloomy story terminates the Italian work of Father Ripa; but it is succeeded by a few pages from the Editor, purporting that the reverend Father died on the 22nd of November, 1745, and that several persons, who in different cases of need

have since implored his intercession, have had their prayers granted!

As the English reader may perhaps feel an interest in knowing something more respecting Father Ripa's institution, the translator has appended the following account from the German, for which he is indebted to a friend.

CONCLUSION.

A Visit to the Chinese College at Naples founded by Father Ripa.*

CLOSE to the Ponte della Sanita, to the north-west on a neighbouring declivity, stands the Chinese College; for this is the name given to a religious institution in immediate connexion with the Propaganda of Rome, which educates young Chinese as teachers and missionaries for their native land. A high wall surrounds this beautiful spot; every one, however, is at liberty to visit the church, and the priests belonging to the church perform public worship there.

We went into the capacious hall, and found some men rolling a huge barrel into the cellar: well, thought we, our friends the missionaries do not appear to content themselves with bread and three apples, like the monks in the Sanità. A servant pointed out to us in the Refectory the portraits of Matteo Ripa, the founder of the college, and of all the succeeding teachers of the institution, as well as of several young Chinese, whose names and the dates of whose existence were appended to the pictures. After awhile the rector appeared, a tall, oily Neapolitan, with mild manners—a magnificent head for a picture—who made

* Extracted from Dr. Karl August Mayer's 'Neapel und die Neapolitaner' (Naples and the Neapolitans).

many excuses for having kept us waiting so long. The conversation then turned on Matteo Ripa. He was an Italian and a missionary, who just about one hundred years ago preached Christianity in China, where he had been appointed Court painter. We heard the following anecdote touching the pictures:—As soon as the young Chinese are sufficiently instructed to understand their business tolerably, they return to China; and the portrait of each youth is then taken on his departure. Should one happen to die in Naples, he is painted either before or immediately after his death. Some of the faces from this reason have death strongly marked upon them. The rector showed us the inscription under one of these portraits, which stated that the Chinese therein represented had lived for years in the institution, and that he had thence travelled through all parts of China as a missionary; but on discovery of the nature of his employment, he had been seized and banished to Tartary, where he died. The rector next described to me the present condition of the resident Christians in China, as being wretched in the extreme, the Emperor persecuting them cruelly; he added, that he entertained great fears for certain of his young scholars, who had but lately left the institution to enter upon their labours in China.

The number of pupils at present amounts to eight, of whom six are Chinese, and the other two Greeks. The instruction is given in Latin; but the pupils have picked up Italian in their intercourse with the servants. The rector himself does not understand Chinese, and the new comers can only follow his lessons after they have learned some Latin from their fellow-countrymen.

We were then conducted into another room, and a few Chinese made their appearance, clad in long priest's robes, and attended by their tutor, who was only distinguished from them by wearing a crimson girdle. They greeted us in the most friendly manner, and plenty of time was given us to observe their ways, and to talk with them in Italian. The colour of their faces is yellow, but not disagreeably so, and their shining black hair lies straight and smooth over their low foreheads: their small, strange, half-closed eyes are jet black, and full of vivacity, and are placed, turning upwards, towards the temples—the well-

known peculiarity of the Tartar race. The form of the face is oval and flat, the nose flat and short, so that they have scarcely any profile. When they laugh, and this they do incessantly, owing to their childish good humour, it is with a grin which shows all their teeth. Their heavy, monotonous way of moving suits well with their round, short, and diminutive bodies: in this they contrast strangely with the Greeks and the Italian rector. One might almost lay these Chinese down and roll them like barrels.

They showed us a map of the Celestial Empire, as well as all sorts of articles which they had brought from their own country, such as a beautifully carved wooden bowl, in which they keep their tea; also a charming little model of the famous porcelain tower at Nankin, and they gave us the necessary explanations with very evident joy. We were obliged to tell our names, which they then inscribed on rice-paper in Italian and Chinese characters, as a memento of our visit: for this purpose they used a brush dipped in Indian ink. Our names, which sounded so strangely to their ears, caused them great difficulty; and they were obliged to make up with letters somewhat akin in sound for those which are wanting in their own language.

One of them read some passages out of the New Testament translated into Chinese, which sounded strangely enough, most of the words being of one syllable. Another opened his mouth awfully wide, and sang us a national song to a most barbarian tune.

The Chinese with whom we made acquaintance were from the vicinity of Peking. They remarked to us that the climate of their own country, although situated in a more southern latitude than Naples, was yet considerably colder: notwithstanding which, they had all the fruits of southern Italy.

The rector then took us over the beautiful terrace of the house, from whence we overlooked all the north-eastern portion of the city. A charming orangery near us attracted our attention, and we learned that it belonged to the institution, and served as a garden for the pupils, who occasionally varied their walk by a stroll through the city accompanied by their tutors.

We inquired of the ecclesiastic whether he was satisfied with the progress his pupils made: their memory, he replied, was

exceedingly good, and one of them showed a pleasure in and a great aptitude for the sciences. We then parted from the good man, with many thanks: but he refused to accept a trifling present which we had brought for the institution.

THE END.

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JOURNAL

OF

A RESIDENCE AMONG THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES.

JOURNAL

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RESIDENCE AMONG THE NEGROES

IN THE WEST INDIES.

BY THE LATE

MATTHEW GREGORY LEWIS, ESQ., M.P.,

AUTHOR OF

"THE MONK," "THE CASTLE SPECTRE,"
"TALES OF WONDER," &c.

"I would give many a sugar cane,
Mat. Lewis were alive again."
BYRON.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1845.

P

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Journals of two residences in Jamaica, in 1815–16, and in 1817, were printed from the MS. of Mr. Lewis, who died at sea, on the voyage homewards from the West Indies, in the year 1818.

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" Nunc alio patriam quæro sub sole jacentem."—VIRGIL.

1815. NOVEMBER 8. (*Wednesday.*)

I LEFT London, and reached Gravesend at nine in the morning, having been taught to expect our sailing in a few hours. But although the vessel left the Docks on Saturday, she did not reach this place till three o'clock on Thursday the 9th. The captain now tells me, that we may expect to sail certainly in the afternoon of to-morrow the 10th. I expect the ship's cabin to gain greatly by my two days' residence at the " ***** ****," which nothing can exceed for noise, dirt, and dulness. Eloisa would never have established " black melancholy " at the Paraclete as its favourite residence, if she had happened to pass three days at an inn at Gravesend: nowhere else did I ever see the sky look so dingy, and the river so dirty: to be sure, the place has all the advantages of an English November to assist it in those particulars. Just now, too, a carriage passed my windows, conveying on board a cargo of passengers, who seemed sincerely afflicted at the thoughts of leaving their dear native land! The pigs squeaked, the ducks quacked, and the fowls screamed; and all so dolefully, as clearly to prove, that *theirs* was no dissembled sorrow! And after them (more affecting than all) came a

wheelbarrow, with a solitary porker tied in a basket, with his head hanging over on one side, and his legs sticking out on the other, who neither grunted nor moved, nor gave any signs of life, but seemed to be of quite the same opinion with Hannah More's heroine,

"Grief is for *little* wrongs; despair for mine!"

As Miss O'Neil is to play "Elwina" for the first time to-morrow, it is a thousand pities that she had not the previous advantage of seeing the speechless despondency of this poor pig; it might have furnished her with some valuable hints, and enabled her to convey more perfectly to the audience the "expressive silence" of irremediable distress.

NOVEMBER 10.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, I embarked on board the "Sir Godfrey Webster," Captain Boyes. On approaching the vessel, we heard the loudest of all possible shrieks proceeding from a boat lying near her: and who should prove to be the complainant, but my former acquaintance, the despairing pig. He had recovered his voice to protest against entering the ship: I had already declared against climbing up the accommodation-ladder; the pig had precisely the very same objection. So a *soi-disant* chair, being a broken bucket, was let down for us, and the pig and myself entered the vessel by the same conveyance; only pig had the precedence, and was hoisted up first. The ship proceeded three miles, and then the darkness obliged us to come to an anchor. There are only two other cabin passengers, a Mr. J——— and a Mr. S———; the latter is a planter in the "May-Day Mountains," Jamaica: he wonders, considering how much benefit Great Britain derives from the West Indies, that government is not careful to build more churches in them, and is of opinion, that "hedicating the negroes is the only way to make them appy; indeed, in his umble hopinion, hedication his hall in hall!"

NOVEMBER 11.

We sailed at six o'clock, passed through "Nob's Hole," the "Girdler's Hole," and "the Pan" (all very dangerous sands,

and particularly the last, where at times we had only one foot water below us), by half-past four, and at five came to an anchor in the Queen's Channel. Never having seen any thing of the kind before, I was wonderfully pleased with the manœuvring of several large ships, which passed through the sands at the same time with us: their motions seemed to be effected with as much ease and dexterity as if they had been crane-necked carriages; and the effect as they pursued each other's track and windings was perfectly beautiful.

NOVEMBER 12. (*Sunday.*)

The wind was contrary, and we had to beat up the whole way. We did not reach the Downs till past four o'clock, and, as there were above sixty vessels arrived before us, we had some difficulty in finding a safe berth. At length we anchored in the Lower Roads, about four miles off Deal. We can see very clearly the double lights in the vessel moored off the Goodwin sands: it is constantly inhabited by two families, who reside there alternately every fortnight, except when the weather delays the exchange. The "Sir Godfrey Webster" is a vessel of 600 tons, and was formerly in the East India service. I have a very clean cabin, a place for my books, and every thing is much more comfortable than I expected; the wind, however, is completely west, the worst that we could have, and we must not even expect a change till the full moon. The captain pointed out a man to me to-day, who had been with him in a violent storm off the Bermudas. For six hours together, the flashes of lightning were so unintermitting, that the eye could not sustain them: at one time, the ship seemed to be completely in a blaze; and the man in question (who was then standing at the wheel, near the captain) suddenly cried out, "I don't know what has happened to me, but I can neither see nor stand;" and he fell down upon the deck. He was taken up and carried below; and it appeared that the lightning had affected his eyes and legs, in a degree to make him both blind and lame, though the captain, who was standing by his side, had received no injury: in three or four days the man was quite well again. In this storm no less than thirteen vessels were dismasted, or otherwise shattered by the lightning.

NOVEMBER 13.

At six this morning came on a tremendous gale of wind; the captain says, that he never experienced a heavier. However, we rode it out with great success, although, at one time, it was bawled out that we were driving; and, at another, a brig which lay near us broke from her moorings, and came bearing down close upon us. The danger, indeed, from the difference of size, was all upon the side of the brig; but, luckily, the vessels cleared each other. This evening she has thought it as well to remove further from so dangerous a neighbourhood. There is a little cabin-boy on board, and Mr. J——— has brought with him a black terrier; and these two at first sight swore to each other an eternal friendship, in the true German style. It is the boy's first voyage, and he is excessively sea-sick; so he has been obliged to creep into his hammock, and his friend, the little black terrier, has crept into the hammock with him. A boat came from the shore this evening, and reported that several vessels have been dismasted, lost their anchors, and injured in various ways. A brig, which was obliged to make for Ramsgate, missed the pier, and was dashed to pieces completely; the crew, however, were saved, all except the pilot; who, although he was brought on shore alive, what between bruises, drowning, and fright, had suffered so much that he died two hours afterwards. The weather has now again become calm; but the wind is still full west.

NOVEMBER 15.

The wind altered sufficiently to allow us to escape from the Downs; and at dusk we were off Beachy Head. This morning the steward left the trap-door of the store-hole open; of course, I immediately contrived to step into it, and was on the point of being precipitated to the bottom, among innumerable boxes of grocery, bags of biscuit, and porter barrels;—where a broken limb was the *least* that I could expect. Luckily I fell across the corner of the trap, and managed to support myself, till I could effect my escape with a bruised knee, and the loss of a few inches of skin from my left arm.

NOVEMBER 19. (*Sunday.*)

At one this morning a violent gust of wind came on; and, at the rate of ten miles an hour, carried us through the Chops of the Channel, formed by the Scilly Rocks and the Isle of Ushant. But I thought that the advance was dearly purchased by the terrible night which the storm made us pass. The wind roaring, the waves dashing against the stern, till at last they beat in the quarter gallery; the ship, too, rolling from side to side, as if every moment she were going to roll over and over! Mr. J——— was heaved off one of the sofas, and rolled along, till he was stopped by the table. He then took his seat upon the floor, as the more secure position; and, half an hour afterwards, another heave chucked him back again upon the sofa. The captain snuffed out one of the candles, and both being tied to the table, could not relight it with the other: so the steward came to do it; when a sudden heel of the ship made him extinguish the second candle, tumbled him upon the sofa on which I was lying, and made the candle which he had brought with him fly out of the candlestick, through a cabin window at his elbow; and thus we were all left in the dark. Then the intolerable noise! the cracking of bulk-heads! the sawing of ropes! the screeching of the tiller! the trampling of the sailors! the clattering of the crockery! Every thing above deck, and below deck, all in motion at once! Chairs, writing-desks, books, boxes, bundles, fire-irons and fenders, flying to one end of the room; and the next moment (as if they had made a mistake) flying back again to the other with the same hurry and confusion! "Confusion worse confounded!" Of all the inconveniences attached to a vessel, the incessant noise appears to me the most insupportable! As to our live stock, they seem to have made up their minds on the subject, and say with one of Ariosto's knights (when he was cloven from the head to the chine), "*or convien morire.*" Our fowls and ducks are screaming and quacking their last by dozens; and by Tuesday morning it is supposed that we shall not have an animal alive in the ship, except the black terrier—and my friend the squeaking pig, whose vocal powers are still audible, maugre the storm and the sailors, and who (I verily believe) only continues to survive out of spite, because he

can join in the general chorus, and help to increase the number of abominable sounds.

We are now tossing about in the Bay of Biscay: I shall remember it as long as I live.

NOVEMBER 20.

Our live stock has received an increase; our fowls and ducks are dead to be sure, but a lark flew on board this morning, blown (as is supposed) from the coast of France. In five minutes it appeared to be quite at home, ate very readily whatever was given it, and hopped about the deck without fear of the sailors, or the more formidable black terrier, with all the ease and assurance imaginable.

NOVEMBER 21.

The weather continues intolerable. Boisterous waves running mountains high, with no wind, or a foul one. Dead calms by day, which prevent our making any progress; and violent storms by night, which prevent our getting any sleep.

Everything is in a state of perpetual motion. We drink our tea exactly as Tantalus did in the infernal regions; we keep bobbing at the basin for half an hour together without being able to get a drop; and certainly nobody on ship-board can doubt the truth of the proverb, "Many things fall out between the cup and the lip."

NOVEMBER 23.

PANDORA'S BOX. (*Iliad* A.)

Prometheus once (in Tooke the tale you 'll see)
In one vast box enclosed all human evils;
But curious Woman needs the inside would see,
And out came twenty thousand million devils.

The story 's spoil'd, and Tooke should well be chid:
The fact, sir, happen'd thus, and I 've no doubt of it;
'T was not that Woman raised the coffer's lid,
But when the lid *was* raised, Woman popp'd out of it.

"But Hope remain'd"—true, sir, she did; but still
All saw of what Miss Hope gave intimation;
Her right hand grasp'd an undertaker's bill,
Her left conceal'd a deed of separation.

N.B. I was most horribly sea-sick when I took this view of the subject.

November 24.

"Manibus date lilia plenis;
Purpureos spargam flores!"

The squeaking pig was killed this morning.

November 26.

A complete and most violent storm, from twelve at night till seven the next morning. The fore-top-sail, though only put up for the first time yesterday, was rent from top to bottom; and several of the other sails are torn to pieces. The perpetual tempestuous weather which we have experienced has so shaken the planks of the vessel, that the sea enters at all quarters. About one o'clock in the morning I was saluted by a stream of water, which poured down exactly upon my face, and obliged me to shift my lodgings. The carpenter had been made aware that there was a leak in my cabin, and ordered to caulk the seams; but, I suppose, he thought that during only a two months' voyage, the rain might very possibly never find out the hole, and that it would be quite time enough to apply the remedy when I should have felt the inconvenience. The best is, that the carpenter happening to be at work in the next cabin when the water came down upon me, I desired him to call my servant, in order that I might get up on account of the leak; on which he told me "that the leak could not be helped;" grumbled a good deal at calling up the servant; and seemed to think me not a little unreasonable for not lying quietly, and suffering myself to be pumped upon by this shower-bath of his own providing.

But if the water gets *into* the ship, on the other hand, last night the poor old steward was very near getting out of it. In the thick of the storm he was carrying some grog to the mate, when a gun, which drove against him, threw him off his balance, and he was just passing through one of the port-holes, when, luckily, he caught hold of a rope, and saved himself. A screech-owl flew on board this morning: I am sure we have no need of birds of ill omen; I could supply the place of a whole aviary of them myself.

NOVEMBER 29.

The wind continues contrary, and the weather is as disagreeable and perverse as it can well be; indeed, I understand that in these latitudes nothing can be expected but heavy gales or dead calms, which makes them particularly pleasant for sailing, especially as the calms are by far the most disagreeable of the two: the wind steadies the ship; but when she creeps as slowly as she does at present (scarcely going a mile in four hours), she feels the whole effect of the sea breaking against her, and rolls backwards and forwards with every billow as it rises and falls. In the meanwhile, everything seems to be in a state of the most active motion, except the ship; while we are carrying a spoonful of soup to our mouths, the remainder takes the "glorious golden opportunity" to empty itself into our laps, and the glasses and salt-cellars carry on a perpetual domestic warfare during the whole time of dinner, like the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Nothing is so common as to see a roast goose suddenly jump out of its dish in the middle of dinner, and make a frisk from one end of the table to the other; and we are quite in the habit of laying wagers which of the two boiled fowls will arrive at the bottom first.

N.B. To-day the fowl without the liver wing was the favourite, but the knowing ones were taken in; the uncarved one carried it hollow.

DECEMBER 1. (*Friday.*)

The captain to-day pointed out to me a sailor-boy, who, about three years ago, was shaken from the mast-head, and fell through the scuttle into the hold: the distance was above eighty feet, yet the boy was taken up with only a few bruises.

DECEMBER 3. (*Sunday.*)

The wind during the last two days has been more favourable; and at nine this morning we were in the latitude of Madeira.

DECEMBER 6.

I had no idea of the expense of building and preserving a ship. That in which I am at present cost 30,000*l.* at its outset. Last year the repairs amounted to 14,000*l.*; and in a voyage to

the East Indies they were more than 20,000*l.* In its return last year from Jamaica it was on the very brink of shipwreck. A storm had driven it into Bantry Bay, and there was no other refuge from the winds than Bear Haven, whose entrance was narrow and difficult; however, a gentleman from Castletown came on board, and very obligingly offered to pilot the ship. He was one of the first people in the place, had been the owner of a vessel himself, was most thoroughly acquainted with every inch of the haven, &c. &c., and so on they went. There was but one sunken rock, and that about ten feet in diameter; the captain knew it, and warned his gentleman-pilot to keep a little more to the eastward. "My dear friend," answered the Irishman, "now do just make yourself *asy;* I know well enough what we are about; we are as clear of the rock as if we were in the Red Sea, by Jasus;"—upon which the vessel struck upon the rock, and there she stuck. The captain fell to swearing and tearing his hair. "G— d— you, sir! didn't I tell you to keep to eastward? Dam'me, she 's on the rock!" "Oh! well, my dear, she 's now *on* the rock, and, in a few minutes, you know, why she 'll be *off* the rock: to be sure, I 'd have taken my oath that the rock was two hundred and fifty feet on the other side of her, but——"—"Two hundred and fifty feet! why, the channel is not two hundred and fifty feet wide itself! and as to getting her off, bumping against this rock, it can only be with a great hole in her side."—"Poh! now, bother, my dear! why sure——"—"Leave the ship, sir; dam'me, sir, get out of my ship this moment!" Instead of which, with the most smiling and obliging air in the world, the Irishman turned to console the female passengers. "Make yourselves *asy*, ladies, pray make yourself perfectly *asy;* but, upon my soul, I believe your captain 's mad; no danger in life! only make yourselves *asy*, I say; for the ship lies on the rock as safe and as quiet, by Jasus, as if she were lying on a mud bank!" Luckily the weather was so perfectly calm, that the ship having once touched the rock with her keel bumped no more. It was low water; she wanted but five inches to float her, and when the tide rose she drifted off, and with but little harm done. The gentleman-pilot then thought proper to return on shore, took a very polite leave of the lady-passengers, and departed with all the urbanity possible;

only thinking the captain the strangest person that he had ever met with; and wondering that any man of common sense could be put out of temper by such a trifle.

December 7.

Yesterday we had the satisfaction of falling in with the trade-wind, and now we are proceeding both rapidly and steadily. The change of climate is very perceptible; and the deep and beautiful blue which colours the sea is a certain intimation of our approach to the tropic. A few flying-fish have made their appearance; and the spears are being put in order for the reception of their constant attendant, the dolphin. These spears have ropes affixed to them, and at one end of the pole are five barbs, at the other a heavy ball of lead: then, when the fish is speared, the striker lets the staff fall, on which down goes the lead into the sea, and up goes the dolphin into the air, who is in the utmost astonishment to find itself all of a sudden turned into a flying-fish; so determines to cultivate the art of flying for the future, and promises itself a great many pleasant airings. The dolphin and the flying-fish are beautifully coloured, and both are very good food, particularly the latter, which move in shoals like the herring, and are about the size of that fish. They are supposed to feed on spawn and sea animalculæ, and will not take the bait; but on the shores of Barbadoes, which they frequent in great multitudes, they are caught in wide nets, spread upon the surface of the sea; then, upon beating the waters around, the fish rise in clouds, and fly till, their fins getting dry, they fall down into the nets which have been spread to receive them. The dolphin is seldom above three feet long; the immense strength which he exerts in his struggles for liberty occasions the necessity of catching him with the spear in the way before described.

December 8.

At three o'clock this afternoon we entered the tropic of Cancer; and if the wind continues tolerably favourable, we may expect to see Antigua on Sunday se'nnight. On crossing the line, it was formerly usual for ships to receive a visit from an old gentleman and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Cancer: the husband was, by profession, a barber; and, probably, the scullion, who

insisted so peremptorily on shaving Sancho, at the duke's castle, had served an apprenticeship to Mr. Cancer, for their mode of proceeding was much alike, and, indeed, very peculiar: the old gentleman always made a point of using a rusty iron hoop instead of a razor, tar for soap, and an empty beef-barrel was, in his opinion, the very best possible substitute for a basin; in consequence of which, instead of paying him for shaving them, people of taste were disposed to pay for not being shaved; and as Mrs. Cancer happened to be particularly partial to gin, the gift of a few bottles was generally successful in rescuing the donor's chin from the hands of her husband; however, to-day this venerable pair "peradventure were sleeping, or on a journey," for we neither saw nor heard anything about them.

December 11.

A dead centipes was found on the deck, supposed to have made its way on board during the last voyage, among the logwood. This is not the only species of disagreeable passengers who are in the habit of introducing themselves into homeward-bound vessels without leave. While sleeping on deck last year the captain felt something run across his face, and supposing it to be a cockroach, he brushed off a scorpion; but not without its first biting him upon the cheek: the pain for about four hours was excessive; but although he did no more than wash the wound with spirits, he was perfectly well again in a couple of days.

December 12.

Since we entered the tropic the rains have been incessant and most violent; but the wind was brisk and favourable, and we proceeded rapidly. Now we have lost the trade-wind, and move so slowly, that it might almost be called standing still. On the other hand, the weather is now perfectly delicious; the ship makes but little way, but she moves steadily; the sun is brilliant, the sky cloudless, the sea calm, and so smooth, that it looks like one extended sheet of blue glass; an awning is stretched over the deck; although there is not wind enough to fill the sails, there is sufficient to keep the air cool, and thus, even during the day, the weather is very pleasant: but the nights are quite heavenly, and so bright, that at ten o'clock yesterday even-

ing little Jem Parsons (the cabin-boy), and his friend the black terrier, came on deck, and sat themselves down on a gun-carriage, to read by the light of the moon. I looked at the boy's book (the terrier, I suppose, read over the other's shoulder), and found that it was 'The Sorrows of Werter.' I asked who had lent him such a book, and whether it amused him? He said that it had been made a present to him, and so he had read it almost through, for he had got to Werter's dying; though to be sure he did not understand it all, nor like very much what he understood; for he thought the man a great fool for killing himself *for love*. I told him I thought every man a great fool who killed himself for love or for anything else: but had he no books but 'The Sorrows of Werter?'—Oh, dear, yes, he said, he had a great many more; he had got 'The Adventures of a Louse,' which was a very curious book, indeed; and he had got besides, 'The Recess,' and 'Valentine and Orson,' and 'Roslin Castle,' and a book of Prayers, just like the Bible; but he could not but say that he liked 'The Adventures of a Louse' the best of any of them.

DECEMBER 13.

We caught a dolphin, but not with the spear: he gorged a line which was fastened to the stern and baited with salt pork; but being a very large and strong fish, his efforts to escape were so powerful, that it was feared he would break the line, and a *grainse* (as the dolphin-spear is technically termed) was thrown at him: he was struck, and three of the prongs were buried in his side; yet with a violent effort he forced them out again, and threw the lance up into the air. I am not much used to take pleasure in the sight of animal suffering, but if Pythagoras himself had been present, and "of opinion that the soul of his grandam might haply inhabit" this dolphin, I think he must still have admired the force and agility displayed in his endeavours to escape. Imagination can picture nothing more beautiful than the colours of this fish: while covered by the waves he was entirely green; and as the water gave him a case of transparent crystal, he really looked like one solid piece of living emerald; when he sprang into the air or swam fatigued upon the surface, his fins alone preserved their green, and the rest of his body appeared to be of the brightest yellow, his scales shining like

gold wherever they caught the sun; while the blood which, as long as he remained in the sea, continued to spout in great quantities, forced its way upwards through the water like a wreath of crimson smoke, and then dispersed itself in separate globules among the spray. From the great loss of blood his colours soon became paler; but when he was at length safely landed on deck, and beating himself to death against the flooring, agony renewed all the lustre of his tints: his fins were still green and his body golden, except his back, which was olive, shot with bright deep blue; his head and belly became silvery, and the spots with which the latter was mottled, changed with incessant rapidity, from deep olive to the most beautiful azure. Gradually his brilliant tints disappeared; they were succeeded by one uniform shade of slate colour, and when he was quite dead he exhibited nothing but dirty brown and dull dead white. As soon as all was over with him, the first thing done was to convert one of his fins into the resemblance of a flying-fish, for the purpose of decoying other dolphins; and the second, to order some of the present gentleman to be got ready for dinner. He measured above four feet and a half.

DECEMBER 14.

At noon to-day we found ourselves in the latitude of Jamaica. We were promised the sight of Antigua on Sunday next, but that is now quite out of the question. We made but eight miles in the whole of yesterday; and as Jamaica is still at the distance of eighteen hundred miles, at this rate of proceeding we may expect to reach it about eight months hence. The sky this evening presented us with quite a new phenomenon, a rose-coloured moon: she is to be at her full to-morrow; and this afternoon, about half-past four, she rose like a disk of silver, perfectly white and colourless; but as she was exactly opposite to the sun at the time of his setting, the reflection of his rays spread a kind of pale blush over her orb, which produced an effect as beautiful as singular. Indeed, the size and inconceivable brilliance of the sun, the clearness of the atmosphere, which had assumed a faint greenish hue, and was entirely without a cloud, the smoothness of the ocean, and the aforesaid rose-coloured moon altogether rendered this sunset the most magical in effect that I ever beheld; and it was with great reluctance

that I was called away from admiring it to ascertain whether the merits of our new acquaintance, the dolphin, extended any further than his skin. Part of him, which was boiled for yesterday's dinner, was rather coarse and dry, and might have been mistaken for indifferent haddock. But his having been steeped in brine, and then broiled with a good deal of pepper and salt, had improved him wonderfully, and to-day I thought him as good as any other fish.

DECEMBER 15.

The wind has dwindled away to nothing. We are now so absolutely becalmed that I begin to suspect Neptune is amusing himself by making the ship take root in the ocean. I have got some locust plants on board in pots: if we get on as slowly as we have done for the last week, before we reach Jamaica my plants will be forest trees, little Jem, the cabin-boy, will have been obliged to shave, and the black terrier will have died of old age. Great numbers of porpoises were playing about to-day, and tumbling under the ship's very nose. When in their gambols they allow themselves to be seen above the surface, they are of a dirty blackish brown, and as ugly as heart can wish; but in the waves they acquire a fine sea-green cast, and their spouting up water in the sunbeams is extremely ornamental.

DECEMBER 16.

What little wind there is blows so perversely, that we have been obliged to alter our course; and instead of Antigua, we are now told that the Summer Islands (Shakspeare's "still vexed Bermoothes") are the first land that we must expect to see.

I am greatly disappointed at finding such a scarcity of monsters; I had flattered myself that as soon as we should enter the Atlantic ocean, or at least the tropic, we should have seen whole shoals of sharks, whales, and dolphins, wandering about as plenty as sheep upon the South Downs; instead of which, a brace of dolphins, and a few flying-fish and porpoises, are the only inhabitants of the ocean who have as yet taken the trouble of paying us the common civility of a visit. However, I am promised that as soon as we approach the islands I shall have as many sharks as heart can wish.

As I am particularly fond of proofs of conjugal attachment

between animals (in the human species they are so universal that I set no store by them), an instance of that kind which the captain related to me this morning gave me great pleasure. While lying in Black River harbour, Jamaica, two sharks were frequently seen playing about the ship; at length the female was killed, and the desolation of the male was excessive:—

"Che faro senz' Eurydice?"

What he did *without* her remains a secret, but what he did *with* her was clear enough; for scarce was the breath out of his Eurydice's body, when he stuck his teeth in her, and began to eat her up with all possible expedition. Even the sailors felt their sensibility excited by so peculiar a mark of posthumous attachment; and to enable him to perform this melancholy duty the more easily, they offered to be his carvers, lowered their boat, and proceeded to chop his better half in pieces with their hatchets; while the widower opened his jaws as wide as possible, and gulped down pounds upon pounds of the dear departed as fast as they were thrown to him, with the greatest delight and all the avidity imaginable. I make no doubt that all the while he was eating he was thoroughly persuaded that every morsel which went into his stomach would make its way to his heart directly! "She was perfectly consistent," he said to himself; "she was excellent through life, and really she's extremely good now she's dead!" I doubt whether the annals of Hymen can produce a similar instance of post-obitual affection. Certainly Calderon's "*Amor despues de la Muerte*" has nothing that is worthy to be compared to it; nor do I recollect in history any fact at all resembling it, except perhaps a circumstance which is recorded respecting Cambletes, king of Lydia, a monarch equally remarkable for his voracity and uxoriousness, and who, being one night completely overpowered by sleep, and at the same time violently tormented by hunger, eat up his queen without being conscious of it, and was mightily astonished the next morning, to wake with her hand in his mouth, the only bit that was left of her. But then Cambletes was quite unconscious what he was doing, whereas the shark's mark of attachment was evidently intentional.

DECEMBER 17. (*Sunday.*)

On this day, from a sense of propriety no doubt, as well as

from having nothing else to do, all the crew in the morning betook themselves to their studies. The carpenter was very seriously spelling a comedy; Edward was engaged with 'The Six Princesses of Babylon;' a third was amusing himself with a tract 'On the Management of Bees;' another had borrowed the cabin-boy's 'Sorrows of Werter,' and was reading it aloud to a large circle—some whistling—and others yawning; and Werter's abrupt transitions, and exclamations, and raptures, and refinements, read in the same loud monotonous tone, and without the slightest respect paid to stops, had the oddest effect possible. I was surprised to find that (except Edward's Fairy Tale) none of them were reading works that were at all likely to amuse them (Smollett or Fielding, for instance), or any which might interest them as relating to their profession, such as voyages and travels; much less any which had the slightest reference to the particular day. However, as most of them were reading what they could not possibly understand, they might mistake them for books of devotion, for anything they knew to the contrary; or, perhaps, they might have so much reverence for all books in print, as to think that, provided they did but read something, it was doing a good work, and it did not much matter what. So one of Congreve's fine ladies swears Mrs. Mincing, the waiting-maid, to secrecy, "upon an odd volume of Messalina's Poems." Sir Dudley North, too, informs us (or is it his brother Roger? but I mean the Turkey merchant)—that at Constantinople the respect for printed books is so great, that when people are sick, they fancy that they can be *read* into health again; and if the Koran should not be in the way, they will make a shift with a few verses of the Bible, or a chapter or two of the Talmud, or of any other book that comes first to hand, rather than not read something. I think Sir Dudley says, that he himself cured an old Turk of the toothache by administering a few pages of 'Ovid's Metamorphoses;' and in an old receipt-book, we are directed for the cure of a double tertian fever, "to drink plentifully of cock-broth, and sleep with the Second Book of the Iliad under the pillow." If, instead of sleeping with it under the pillow, the doctor had desired us to read the Second Book of the Iliad in order that we *might* sleep, I should have had some faith in his prescription myself.

DECEMBER 19.

During these last two days nothing very extraordinary, or of sufficient importance to deserve being handed down to the latest posterity, has occurred; except that this morning a swinging rope knocked my hat into the sea, and away it sailed upon a voyage of discovery, like poor La Perouse, to return no more, I suppose; unless, indeed,—like Polycrates, the fortunate tyrant of Samos, who threw his favourite ring into the ocean, and found it again in the stomach of the first fish that was served up at his table,—I should have the good luck (but I by no means reckon upon it) to catch a dolphin with my hat upon his head: as to a porpoise, he never could squeeze his great numskull into it; but our dolphin of last week was much about my own size, and I dare say such another would find my hat fit him to a miracle, and look very well in it.

DECEMBER 20.

The weather is excessively close and sultry; and in point of heat there is no difference between the days and the nights; or if there is any, it is that the nights are rather the hottest of the two. The lightning is incessant, and it does not show itself forked or in flashes, but in wide sheets of mild blue light, which spread themselves at once over the sky and sea; and, for the moment during which they last, make all the objects around as distinct as in daylight. The moon now does not rise till late, and during her absence the size and brilliancy of the stars are admirable. In England they always seemed to me to "peep through the blanket of the dark;" but here the heavens appear to be studded with them on the outside, as if they were chased with so many jewels: it is really Milton's "firmament of living sapphires;" and what with the lightning, the stars, and the quantity of floating lights which just gleamed round the ship every moment, and then were gone again, to-night the sky had an effect so beautiful, that when at length the moon thought proper to show her great red drunken face, I thought that we did much better without her.

The above-mentioned floating lights are a kind of sea-meteors, which, as I am told, are produced by the concussion of the waves, while eddying in whirlpools round the rudder; but still

I saw them rise sometimes at so great a distance from the ship, and there appeared to be something so like *will* in the direction of their course,—sometimes hurrying on, sometimes gliding along quite slowly; now stopping and remaining motionless for a minute or two, and then hurrying on again,—that I could not be convinced of their not being Medusæ, or some species or other of phosphoric animal: but whatever be the cause of this appearance, the effect is singularly beautiful. As to air, we have not enough to bless ourselves with. I had been led to believe, that when once we should have fallen in with the trade-winds, from that moment we should sail into our destined port as rapidly and as directly as Truffaldino travels in Gozzi's farce; when, having occasion to go from Asia to Europe, and being very much pressed for time, he persuades a conjuror of his acquaintance to lend him a devil, with a great pair of bellows, the nozzle of which being directed right against his stern, away goes the traveller before the stream of wind, with the devil after him, and the infernal bellows never cease from working till they have blown him out of one quarter of the globe into another: but our trade-winds must "hide their diminished heads" before Truffaldino's bellows. It seems that like the Moors, "in Africa the torrid," they are "of temper somewhat mulish;" for although, to be sure, when they *do* blow, they will only blow in one certain direction, yet very often they will not blow at all; which has been the case for the last week: indeed, they seem to be but a queerish kind of a concern at best. About three years ago a fleet of merchantmen was becalmed near St. Vincent's: in a few days after their arrival, there happened a violent eruption of a volcano in that island, nor was it long before a favourable breeze sprang up. Unluckily, one of the ships had anchored rather nearer to the shore than the others, and was at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the stream of the trade-wind; nor could any possible efforts of the crew, by tacking, by towing, or otherwise, ever enable the vessel to conquer that one hundred and fifty yards: there she remained, as completely becalmed as if there were not such a thing as a breath of wind in the universe; and on the one hand she had the mortification to see the rest of the merchantmen, with their convoy (for it was in the very heat of the war), sail away with all their canvass spread and swelling; while, on the

other hand, the sailors had the comfortable possibility of being suffocated every moment by the clouds of ashes which continued to fall on their deck every moment from the burning volcano, although they were not nearer to St. Vincent's than eight or nine miles; indeed that distance went for nothing, as ashes fell upon vessels that were out at sea at least five hundred miles; and Barbadoes being to windward of the volcano, such immense quantities of its contents were carried to that island as almost covered the fields; and destroying vegetation completely wherever they fell, did inconceivable damage, while that which St. Vincent's itself experienced was but trifling in proportion.

Our captain is quite out of patience with the tortoise-pace of our progress; for my part I care very little about it. Whether we have sailed slowly or rapidly, when a day is once over, I am just as much nearer advanced towards April, the time fixed for my return to England; and, what is of much more consequence, whether we have sailed slowly or rapidly, when a day is once over, I am just as much nearer advanced towards "that bourne," to reach which, peaceably and harmlessly, is the only business of life, and towards which the whole of our existence forms but one continued journey.

December 21.

We succeeded in catching another dolphin to-day; but he had not a hat on; however, I just asked him whether he happened to have seen mine, but to little purpose; for I found that he could tell me nothing at all about it; so, instead of bothering the poor animal with any more questions, we ate him.

December 22.

The Captain told me that about three years ago he had the ill luck to be captured by a French frigate. As she had already made prizes of two other merchantmen, it was determined to sink his ship; which, after removing the crew and everything in her that was valuable, was effected by firing her own guns down the hatchways. It was near three hours before she filled, then down she went with a single plunge, head foremost, with all her sails set and colours flying.

DECEMBER 24. (*Sunday.*)

At length we have crawled into the Caribbean Sea. I was told that we were not to expect to see land to-day; but on shipboard our not seeing a thing *to-day* by no means implies that we shall not see it before *to-morrow;* for the nautical day is supposed to conclude at noon, when the solar observation is taken; and, therefore, the making land *to-day*, or not, very often depends upon our making it before twelve o'clock, or after it. This was the case in the present instance; for noon was scarcely passed when we saw Descada (a small island totally unprovided with water, and whose only produce consists in a little cotton), Guadaloupe, and Marie Galante, though the latter was at so great a distance as to be scarcely visible. At sunset Antigua was in sight.

DECEMBER 25.

The sun rose upon Montserrat and Nevis, with the *Rodondo* rock between them, "apricis natio gratissima mergis,"—for it is perpetually covered with innumerable flocks of gulls, boobies, pelicans, and other sea-birds. Then came St. Christopher's and St. Eustatia; and in the course of the afternoon we passed over the *Aves* bank, a collection of sand, rock, and mud, extending about two hundred miles, and terminated at each end by a small island: one of them inhabited by a few fishermen, the other only by sea-birds. Of all the Atlantic isles the soil of St. Christopher's is by some supposed to be the richest, the land frequently producing three hogsheads an acre. I rather think that this was the first island discovered by Columbus, and that it took its name from his patron-saint. Montserrat is so rocky, and the roads so steep and difficult, that the sugar is obliged to be brought down in bags upon the backs of mules, and not put into casks till its arrival on the sea-shore.

The weather is now quite delicious; there is just wind enough to send us forward and keep the air cool: the sun is brilliant, without being overpowering: the swell of the waves is scarcely perceptible, and the ship moves along so steadily that the deck affords almost as firm footing as if we were walking on land. During the night we passed Santa Cruz, an island which, from the perfection to which its cultivation has been carried, is called "the Garden of the West Indies."

DECEMBER 28.

Having left Porto Rico behind us, at noon to-day we passed the insulated rock of Alcavella, lying about six miles from St. Domingo, which is now in sight. As this part of the Caribbean Sea is much infested by pirates from the Caraccas, all our muskets have been put in repair, and to-day the guns were loaded, of which we mount eight; but as one of them, during the last voyage, went overboard in a gale of wind, its place has been supplied by a *Quaker*, i. e. a sham gun of wood—so called, I suppose, because it would not fight if it were called upon. These pirate vessels are small schooners, armed with a single twenty-four pounder, which moves upon a swivel; and their crews are composed of negroes and outlaws of all nations, their numbers varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men. To-day we have been visited by several men-of-war birds and tropic birds; one is a species of gull, perfectly white, and distinguished by a single very long feather in its tail; its nautical name is "the boatswain."

As we sail along, the air is absolutely loaded with "Sabean odours from the spicy shores" of St. Domingo, which we were still coasting at sunset.

DECEMBER 30.

At day-break Jamaica was in sight, or rather it would have been in sight, only that we could not see it. The weather was gloomy, with much wind and rain. I remember my good friend, Walter Scott, asserts, that at the death of a poet the groans and tears of his heroes and heroines swell the blast and increase the river: perhaps something of the same kind takes place at the arrival of a West India proprietor from Europe; and all this rain and wind proceed from the eyes and lungs of my agents and overseers, who, for the last twenty years, have been reigning in my dominions with despotic authority; but now

> "Whose groans in roaring winds complain,
> Whose tears of rage impel the rain;"

because, on the approach of the sovereign himself, they must evacuate the palace and resign the deputed sceptre. "Hinc illæ

lachrymæ!" this is the cause of our being soaked to the skin this morning. However, about noon the weather cleared up, and allowed us to verify, with our own eyes, that we had reached the "Land of Springs," without having been invited by any Piccaroon vessel to "walk the plank" instead of the deck; which is a compliment very generally paid by those gentry, after they have taken the trouble of laying a plank over the side of a captured ship, in order that the passengers and the crew may walk overboard without any inconvenience.

We arrived at the east end of the island, passed Pedro Point and Starvegut Bay, and arrived before Black River Bay (our destined harbour) soon after two o'clock; but here we were obliged to come to a standstill: the channel is very dangerous, extremely narrow, and full of sunken rocks; so that it can only be entered by a vessel drawing so much water as ours with a particular wind, and when there is not any apprehension of a sudden squall. We were, therefore, obliged to drop anchor, and are now riding within a couple of miles of the shore, but with as utter an incapability of reaching it as if we were still at Gravesend. The north side of the island is said to be extremely beautiful and romantic; but the south, which we coasted to-day, is low, barren, and without any recommendation whatever. As yet I can only look at Jamaica as one does on a man who comes to pay money, and whom we are extremely well pleased to see, however little the fellow's appearance may be in his favour.

DECEMBER 31. (*Sunday.*)

We passed the whole of the day in vain endeavours to work ourselves into the bay. At one time, indeed, we got very near the shore, but the consequence was, that we were within an ace of striking upon a rock, and very much obliged to a sudden gust of wind, which, blowing right off shore, blew us out of the channel, and left us at night in a much more perilous situation than we had occupied the evening before, though even that had been by no means secure. At three o'clock, the other passengers went on shore in the jolly-boat, and proceeded to their destination; but as I was still more than thirty miles distant from my estate, I preferred waiting on board till the Captain should have moored his vessel in safety, and be at liberty to take me in his

pinnace to Savannah la Mar, when I should find myself within a few miles of my own house.

In the course of the afternoon, one of the sailors took up a fish of a very singular shape and most brilliant colours, as it floated along upon the water. It seemed to be gasping, and lay with its belly upwards; it was supposed to have eaten something poisonous, as whenever it was touched it appeared to be full of life, and squirted the water in our faces with great spirit and dexterity. But no sooner was he suffered to remain quiet in the tub, than he turned upon his back and again was gasping. He had a large round transparent globule, intersected with red veins, under the belly, which some imagined to proceed from a rupture, and to be the occasion of his disease. But I could not discover any vestige of a wound; and the globule was quite solid to the touch; neither did the fish appear to be sensible when it was pressed upon. No one on board had ever seen this kind of fish till then; its name is the "Doctor Fish."

A black pilot came on board yesterday, in a canoe hollowed out of the cotton-tree; and when it returned for him this morning, it brought us a water-melon. I never met with a worse article in my life; the pulp is of a faint greenish yellow, stained here and there with spots of moist red, so that it looks exactly as if the servant in slicing it had cut his finger, and suffered it to bleed over the fruit. Then the seeds being of a dark purple, present the happiest imitation of drops of clotted gore; and altogether (prejudiced as I was by its appearance), when I had put a single bit into my mouth, it had such a kind of Shylocky taste of raw flesh about it (not that I recollect having ever eaten a bit of raw flesh itself), that I sent away my plate, and was perfectly satisfied as to the merits of the fruit.

1816.—JANUARY 1.

At length the ship has squeezed herself into this champagne bottle of a bay! Perhaps, the satisfaction attendant upon our having overcome the difficulty, added something to the illusion of its effect; but the beauty of the atmosphere, the dark purple mountains, the shores covered with mangroves of the liveliest green down to the very edge of the water, and the light-coloured houses with their lattices and piazzas completely embowered in

trees, altogether made the scenery of the Bay wear a very picturesque appearance. And, to complete the charm, the sudden sounds of the drum and banjee called our attention to a procession of the *John-Canoe*, which was proceeding to celebrate the opening of the new year at the town of Black River. The John-Canoe is a Merry-Andrew dressed in a striped doublet, and bearing upon his head a kind of pasteboard house-boat filled with puppets, representing, some sailors, others soldiers, others again slaves at work on a plantation, &c. The negroes are allowed three days for holidays at Christmas, and also New-year's day, which being the last is always reckoned by them as the festival of the greatest importance. It is for this day that they reserve their finest dresses, and lay their schemes for displaying their show and expense to the greatest advantage; and it is then that the John-Canoe is considered not merely as a person of material consequence, but one whose presence is absolutely indispensable. Nothing could look more gay than the procession which we now saw with its train of attendants, all dressed in white, and marching two by two (except when the file was broken here and there by a single horseman), and its band of negro music, and its scarlet flags fluttering about in the breeze, now disappearing behind a projecting clump of mangrove-trees, and then again emerging into an open part of the road, as it wound along the shore towards the town of Black River. I had determined not to go on shore, till I should land for good and all at Savannah la Mar. But although I could resist the "magnus telluris amor," there was no resisting John-Canoe; so, in defiance of a broiling afternoon's sun, about four o'clock we left the vessel for the town.

It was, as I understand, formerly one of some magnitude; but it now consists only of a few houses, owing to a spark from a tobacco-pipe or a candle having lodged upon a mosquito-net during dry weather; and although the conflagration took place at mid-day, the whole town was reduced to ashes. The few streets (I believe there were not above two, but those were wide and regular, and the houses looked very neat) were now crowded with people, and it seemed to be allowed, upon all hands, that New-year's day had never been celebrated there with more expense and festivity.

It seems that, many years ago, an Admiral of the Red was superseded on the Jamaica station by an Admiral of the Blue; and both of them gave balls at Kingston to the "*Brown Girls;*" for the *fair sex* elsewhere are called the "Brown Girls" in Jamaica. In consequence of these balls, all Kingston was divided into parties: from thence the division spread into other districts; and ever since, the whole island, at Christmas, is separated into the rival factions of the Blues and the Reds (the Red representing also the English, the Blue the Scotch), who contend for setting forth their processions with the greatest taste and magnificence. This year, several gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Black River had subscribed very largely towards the expenses of the show; and certainly it produced the gayest and most amusing scene that I ever witnessed, to which the mutual jealousy and pique of the two parties against each other contributed in no slight degree. The champions of the rival Roses, of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, none of them could exceed the scornful animosity and spirit of depreciation with which the Blues and the Reds of Black River examined the efforts at display of each other. The Blues had the advantage beyond a doubt; this a Red girl told us that she could not deny; but still, "though the Reds were beaten, she would not be a Blue girl for the whole universe!" On the other hand, Miss Edwards (the mistress of the hotel from whose window we saw the show) was rank Blue to the very tips of her fingers, and had, indeed, contributed one of her female slaves to sustain a very important character in the show; for when the Blue procession was ready to set forward, there was evidently a hitch, something was wanting; and there seemed to be no possibility of getting on without it—when suddenly we saw a tall woman dressed in mourning (being Miss Edwards herself) rush out of our hotel, dragging along by the hand a strange uncouth kind of a glittering tawdry figure, all feathers, and pitchfork, and painted pasteboard, who moved most reluctantly, and turned out to be no less a personage than Britannia herself, with a pasteboard shield covered with the arms of Great Britain, a trident in her hand, and a helmet made of pale-blue silk and silver. The poor girl, it seems, was bashful at appearing in this conspicuous manner before so many spectators, and hung back when it came to the point. But her mis-

tress had seized hold of her, and placed her by main force in her destined position. The music struck up; Miss Edwards gave the Goddess a great push forwards; the drumsticks and the elbows of the fiddlers attacked her in the rear; and on went Britannia willy-nilly!

The Blue girls call themselves "the Blue girls of Waterloo." Their motto was the more patriotic; that of the Red was the more gallant:—"Britannia rules the day!" streamed upon the Blue flag; "Red girls for ever!" floated upon the Red. But, in point of taste and invention, the former carried it hollow. First marched Britannia; then came a band of music; then the flag; then the Blue King and Queen—the Queen splendidly dressed in white and silver (in scorn of the opposite party, her train was borne by a little girl in red); his Majesty wore a full British Admiral's uniform, with a white satin sash, and a huge cocked hat with a gilt paper crown upon the top of it. These were immediately followed by "Nelson's car," being a kind of canoe decorated with blue and silver drapery, and with "Trafalgar" written on the front of it; and the procession was closed by a long train of Blue grandees (the women dressed in uniforms of white, with robes of blue muslin), all Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Duchesses, every mother's child of them.

The Red girls were also dressed very gaily and prettily, but they had nothing in point of invention that could vie with Nelson's Car and Britannia; and when the Red throne made its appearance, language cannot express the contempt with which our landlady eyed it. "It was neither one thing nor t'other," Miss Edwards was of opinion. "Nothing but a few yards of calico stretched over planks—and look, look, only look at it behind! you may see the bare boards! By way of a throne, indeed! Well, to be sure, Miss Edwards never saw a poorer thing in her life, that she must say!" And then she told me, that somebody had just snatched at a medal which Britannia wore round her neck, and had endeavoured to force it away. I asked her who had done so? "Oh, one of the Red party, *of course!*" The Red party was evidently Miss Edwards's Mrs. Grundy. John-Canoe made no part of the procession; but he and his rival, John-Crayfish (a personage of whom I heard, but could not obtain a sight), seemed to act upon quite an inde-

pendent interest, and go about from house to house, tumbling and playing antics to pick up money for themselves.

A play was now proposed to us, and, of course, accepted. Three men and a girl accordingly made their appearance; the men dressed like the tumblers at Astley's, the lady very tastefully in white and silver, and all with their faces concealed by masks of thin blue silk; and they proceeded to perform the quarrel between Douglas and Glenalvon, and the fourth act of 'The Fair Penitent.' They were all quite perfect, and had no need of a prompter. As to Lothario, he was by far the most comical dog that I ever saw in my life, and his dying scene exceeded all description; Mr. Coates himself might have taken hints from him! As soon as Lothario was fairly dead, and Calista had made her exit in distraction, they all began dancing reels like so many mad people, till they were obliged to make way for the Waterloo procession, who came to collect money for the next year's festival; one of them singing, another dancing to the tune, while she presented her money-box to the spectators, and the rest of the Blue girls filling up the chorus. I cannot say much in praise of the black Catalani; but nothing could be more light, and playful, and graceful, than the extempore movements of the dancing-girl. Indeed, through the whole day I had been struck with the precision of their march, the ease and grace of their action, the elasticity of their step, and the lofty air with which they carried their heads—all, indeed, except poor Britannia, who hung down hers in the most ungoddess-like manner imaginable. The first song was the old Scotch air of 'Logie of Buchan,' of which the girl sang one single stanza forty times over. But the second was in praise of the Hero of Heroes; so I gave the songstress a dollar to teach it to me, and drink the Duke's health. It was not easy to make out what she said, but as well as I could understand them, the words ran as follows:—

"Come, rise up, our gentry,
And hear about Waterloo;
Ladies, take your spy-glass,
And attend to what we do;
For one and one makes two,
But one alone must be,
Then singee, singee Waterloo,
None so brave as he!"

—and then there came something about green and white flowers and a Duchess, and a lily-white Pig, and going on board of a dashing man-of-war; but what they all had to do with the Duke, or with each other, I could not make even a guess. I was going to ask for an explanation, but suddenly half of them gave a shout loud enough "to fright the realms of Chaos and old Night," and away they flew, singers, dancers, and all. The cause of this was the sudden illumination of the town with quantities of large chandeliers and bushes, the branches of which were stuck all over with great blazing torches: the effect was really beautiful, and the excessive rapture of the black multitude at the spectacle was as well worth the witnessing as the sight itself.

I never saw so many people who appeared to be so unaffectedly happy. In England, at fairs and races, half the visitors at least seem to have been only brought there for the sake of traffic, and to be too busy to be amused; but here nothing was thought of but real pleasure; and that pleasure seemed to consist in singing, dancing, and laughing, in seeing and being seen, in showing their own fine clothes, or in admiring those of others. There were no people selling or buying; no servants and landladies bustling and passing about; and at eight o'clock, as we passed through the market-place, where was the greatest illumination, and which, of course, was most thronged, I did not see a single person drunk, nor had I observed a single quarrel through the course of the day; except, indeed, when some thoughtless fellow crossed the line of the procession, and received by the way a good box of the ear from the Queen or one of her attendant Duchesses. Everybody made the same remark to me; "Well, sir, what do you think Mr. Wilberforce would think of the state of the negroes, if he could see this scene?" and certainly, to judge by this one specimen, of all beings that I have yet seen, these were the happiest. As we were passing to our boat, through the market-place, suddenly we saw Miss Edwards dart out of the crowd, and seize the Captain's arm—"Captain! Captain!" cried she, "for the love of Heaven, only look at the *Red* lights! Old iron hoops, nothing but old iron hoops, I declare! Well! for my part!" and then, with a contemptuous toss of her head, away frisked Miss Edwards triumphantly.

JANUARY 2.

The St. Elizabeth, which sailed from England at the same time with our vessel, was attacked by a pirate from Carthagena, near the rocks of Alcavella, who attempted three times to board her, though he was at length beaten off; so that our Piccaroon preparations were by no means taken without good reason.

At four o'clock this morning I embarked in the cutter for Savannah la Mar, lighted by the most beautiful of morning stars: certainly, if this star be really Lucifer, that "Son of the Morning," the Devil must be "an extremely pretty fellow." But, in spite of the fineness of the morning, our passage was a most disagreeable concern: there was a violent swell in the sea; and a strong north wind, though it carried us forward with great rapidity, overwhelmed us with whole sheets of foam so incessantly that I expected, as soon as the sun should have evaporated the moisture, to see the boat's crew covered with salt, and looking like so many Lot's wives after her metamorphosis.

The distance was about thirty miles, and soon after nine o'clock we reached Savannah la Mar, where I found my trustee and a whole cavalcade waiting to conduct me to my estate. He had brought with him a curricle and pair for myself, a gig for my servant, two black boys upon mules, and a cart with eight oxen to convey my baggage. The road was excellent, and we had not above five miles to travel; and as soon as the carriage entered my gates, the uproar and confusion which ensued sets all description at defiance. The works were instantly all abandoned; everything that had life came flocking to the house from all quarters: and not only the men, and the women, and the children, but, "by a bland assimilation," the hogs, and the dogs, and the geese, and the fowls, and the turkeys, all came hurrying along by instinct, to see what could possibly be the matter, and seemed to be afraid of arriving too late. Whether the pleasure of the negroes was sincere may be doubted; but certainly it was the loudest that I ever witnessed: they all talked together, sang, danced, shouted, and, in the violence of their gesticulations, tumbled over each other, and rolled about upon the ground. Twenty voices at once inquired after uncles, and aunts, and grandfathers, and great-grandmothers of mine, who had been

buried long before I was in existence, and whom, I verily believe, most of them only knew by tradition. One woman held up her little naked black child to me, grinning from ear to ear—"Look, massa, look here! him nice lilly neger for massa!" Another complained,—"So long since none come see we, massa; good massa come at last." As for the old people, they were all in one and the same story,—now they had lived once to see massa, they were ready for dying to-morrow, "them no care."

The shouts, the gaiety, the wild laughter, the strange and sudden bursts of singing and dancing, and several old women, wrapped up in large cloaks, their heads bound round with different-coloured handkerchiefs, leaning on a staff, and standing motionless in the middle of the hubbub, with their eyes fixed upon the portico which I occupied, formed an exact counterpart of the festivity of the witches in Macbeth. Nothing could be more odd or more novel than the whole scene; and yet there was something in it by which I could not help being affected—perhaps it was the consciousness that all these human beings were my *slaves;* to be sure, I never saw people look more happy in my life, and I believe their condition to be much more comfortable than that of the labourers of Great Britain; and, after all, slavery, in *their* case, is but another name for servitude, now that no more negroes can be forcibly carried away from Africa, and subjected to the horrors of the voyage, and the seasoning after their arrival: but still I had already experienced that Juliet was wrong in saying, "What's in a name?" for soon after my reaching the lodging-house at Savannah la Mar, a remarkably clean-looking negro lad presented himself with some water and a towel: I concluded him to belong to the inn; and, on my returning the towel, as he found that I took no notice of him, he at length ventured to introduce himself by saying, "Massa not know me; *me your slave!*"—and really the sound made me feel a pang at the heart. The lad appeared all gaiety and good humour, and his whole countenance expressed anxiety to recommend himself to my notice; but the word "slave" seemed to imply that, although he did feel pleasure then in serving me, if he had detested me he must have served me still. I really felt quite humiliated at the moment, and was tempted to tell him,

"Do not say that again; say that you are my negro, but do not call yourself my slave."

Altogether, they shouted and sang me into a violent headache. It is now one in the morning, and I hear them still shouting and singing. I gave them a holiday for Saturday next, and told them that I had brought them all presents from England; and so, I believe, we parted very good friends.

JANUARY 3.

I have reached Jamaica in the best season for seeing my property in a favourable point of view; it is crop time, when all the laborious work is over, and the negroes are the most healthy and merry. This morning I went to visit the hospital, and found there only eight patients out of three hundred negroes, and not one of them a serious case. Yesterday I had observed a remarkably handsome Creole girl, called Psyche, and she really deserved the name. This morning a little brown girl made her appearance at breakfast, with an orange bough, to flap away the flies, and, on inquiry, she proved to be an emanation of the aforesaid Psyche. It is evident, therefore, that Psyche has already visited the palace of Cupid; I heartily hope that she is not now upon her road to the infernal regions.

I passed the morning in driving about the estate: my house is frightful to look at, but very clean and comfortable in the inside; some of the scenery is very picturesque, from the lively green of the trees and shrubs, and the hermitage-like appearance of the negro buildings, all situated in little gardens and embosomed in sweet-smelling shrubberies. Indeed, everything appears much better than I expected; the negroes seem healthy and contented, and so perfectly at their ease that our English squires would be mightily astonished at being accosted so familiarly by their farmers. This delightful north wind keeps the air temperate and agreeable. I live upon shaddocks and pine-apples. The dreaded mosquitoes are not worse than gnats, nor as bad as the Sussex harvest-bugs; and, as yet, I never felt myself in more perfect health. There was a man once who fell from the top of a steeple, and perceiving no inconvenience in his passage through the air, "Come," said he to himself, while in the act of falling, "really this is well enough yet, if it would but

last." Cubina, my young Savannah la Mar acquaintance, is appointed my black attendant; and as I had desired him to bring me any native flowers of Jamaica, this evening he brought me a very pretty one; the negroes, he said, called it "John-to-Heal," but in white language it was *hoccoco-pickang;* it proved to be the wild ipecacuanha.

JANUARY 4.

There were three things against which I was particularly cautioned, and which three things I was determined *not* to do,—to take exercise after ten in the day; to be exposed to the dews after sun-down; and to sleep at a Jamaica lodging-house. So, yesterday, I set off for Montego Bay at eight o'clock in the morning, and travelled till three; walked home from a ball after midnight; and that home was a lodging-house at Montego Bay; but the lodging-house was such a cool, clean lodging-house, and the landlady was such an obliging, smiling landlady, with the whitest of all possible teeth, and the blackest of all possible eyes, that no harm could happen to me from occupying an apartment which had been prepared by *her*. She was called out of her bed to make my room ready for me; yet she did everything with so much good will and cordiality—no quick answers, no mutterings: inns would be bowers of Paradise if they were all rented by mulatto landladies like Judy James.

I was much pleased with the scenery of Montego Bay, and with the neatness and cleanliness of the town; indeed, what with the sea washing it, and the picturesque aspect of the piazzas and verandas, it is impossible for a West Indian town so situated, and in such a climate, not to present an agreeable appearance. But the first part of the road exceeds in beauty all that I have ever seen; it wound through mountain-lands of my own, their summits of the boldest, and at the same time of the most beautiful shapes; their sides ornamented with bright green woods of bamboo, logwood, prickly-yellow, broad-leaf, and trumpet trees; and so completely covered with the most lively verdure, that once, when we found a piece of barren rock, Cubina pointed it out to me as a curiosity,—"Look, Massa, rock quite naked!" The cotton-tree presented itself on all sides; but as this is the season for its shedding its leaves, its wide-

spreading bare white arms contributed nothing to the beauty of the scene, except where the wild-fig and various creeping plants had completely mantled the stems and branches; and then its gigantic height, and the fantastic wreathings of its limbs, from which numberless green withes and strings of wild flowers were streaming, rendered it exactly the very tree for which a landscape-painter would have wished. The air, too, was delicious; the flagrance of the sweet-wood, and of several other scented trees, but, above all, of the delicious logwood (of which most of the fences in Westmoreland are made), composed an atmosphere such, that if Satan, after promising them "a buxom air, embalmed with odours," had transported Sin and Death thither, the charming couple must have acknowledged their papa's promises fulfilled.

We travelled the first ten miles (Montego Bay being about thirty from my estate of Cornwall) without seeing a human creature; nor, indeed, anything that had life in it, except a black snake basking in the sunshine, and a few John-Crows—a species of vulture, whose utility is so great that its destruction is prohibited by law, under a heavy penalty. In a country where putrefaction is so rapid, it is of infinite consequence to preserve an animal which, if a bullock or horse falls dead in the field, immediately flies to the carcass before it has time to corrupt, and gobbles it up before you can say "John Crow," much less "Jack Robinson." The bite of the black snake is slightly venomous, but that is all; as to the great yellow one, it is perfectly innoxious, and so timid that it always runs away from you. The only dangerous species of serpent is the whip-snake, so called from its exactly resembling the lash of a whip, in length, thinness, pliability, and whiteness; but even the bite of this is not mortal, except from very great neglect. The most beautiful tree, or rather group of trees, all to nothing, is the bamboo, both from its verdure and from its elegance of form: as to the cotton-tree, it answers no purpose, either of ornament or utility; or, rather, it is not suffered to answer any, since it is forbidden by law to export its down, lest it should hurt the fur trade in the manufacture of hats: its only present use is to furnish the negroes with canoes, which are hollowed out of its immense trunks. I am as yet so much enchanted with the country, that it would require

no very strong additional inducements to make me establish myself here altogether; and, in that case, my first care would be to build for myself a cottage among these mountains, in which I might pass the sultry months,—

"E bruna-si; ma il bruno il bel non toglie."

JANUARY 5.

As I was returning this morning from Montego Bay, about a mile from my own estate, a figure presented itself before me, I really think the most picturesque that I ever beheld: it was a mulatto girl, born upon Cornwall, but whom the overseer of a neighbouring estate had obtained my permission to exchange for another slave, as well as two little children, whom she had borne to him; but, as yet, he has been unable to procure a substitute, owing to the difficulty of purchasing single negroes, and Mary Wiggins is still my slave. However, as she is considered as being manumitted, she had not dared to present herself at Cornwall on my arrival, lest she should have been considered as an intruder; but she now threw herself in my way to tell me how glad she was to see me, for that she had always thought till now (which is the general complaint) that "*she had no massa*;" and also to obtain a regular invitation to my negro festival to-morrow. By this universal complaint, it appears that, while Mr. Wilberforce is lamenting their hard fate in being subject to a master, *their* greatest fear is the not having a master whom they know; and that to be told by the negroes of another estate that "they belong to no massa," is one of the most contemptuous reproaches that can be cast upon them. Poor creatures, when they happened to hear on Wednesday evening that my carriage was ordered for Montego Bay the next morning, they fancied that I was going away for good and all, and came up to the house in such a hubbub, that my agent was obliged to speak to them, and pacify them with the assurance that I should come back on Friday without fail.

But to return to Mary Wiggins: she was much too pretty not to obtain her invitation to Cornwall; on the contrary, I *insisted* upon her coming, and bade her tell her *husband* that I admired his taste very much for having chosen her. I really think that her form and features were the most *statue-like* that I

ever met with: her complexion had no yellow in it, and yet was not brown enough to be dark—it was more of an ash-dove colour than anything else; her teeth were admirable, both for colour and shape; her eyes equally mild and bright; and her face merely broad enough to give it all possible softness and grandness of contour: her air and countenance would have suited Yarico; but she reminded me most of Grassini in "La Vergine del Sole," only that Mary Wiggins was a thousand times more beautiful, and that, instead of a white robe, she wore a mixed dress of brown, white, and dead yellow, which harmonized excellently well with her complexion; while one of her beautiful arms was thrown across her brow to shade her eyes, and a profusion of rings on her fingers glittered in the sunbeams. Mary Wiggins and an old cotton-tree are the most picturesque objects that I have seen for these twenty years.

On my arrival at home, my agent made me a very elegant little present of a scorpion and a couple of centipedes: the first was given to him, but the large centipede he had shaken out of a book last night, and having immediately covered her up in a phial of rum, he found this morning that she had produced a young one, which was lying drowned by her side.

I find that my negroes were called away from their attention to the works yesterday evening (for the crop is now making with the greatest activity), and kept up all night by a fire at a neighbouring estate. On these occasions a fire-shell is blown, and all the negroes of the adjoining plantations hastén to give their assistance. On this occasion the fire was extinguished with the loss of only five negro houses; but this is a heavy concern to the poor negro proprietors, who have lost in it their whole stock of clothes, and furniture, and finery, which they had been accumulating for years, and to which their attachment is excessive.

January 6.

This was the day given to my negroes as a festival on my arrival. A couple of heifers were slaughtered for them: they were allowed as much rum and sugar, and noise, and dancing as they chose; and as to the two latter, certainly they profited by the permission. About two o'clock they began to assemble round the house, all dressed in their holiday clothes, which, both

for men and women, were chiefly white; only that the women were decked out with a profusion of beads and corals, and gold ornaments of all descriptions; and that while the blacks wore jackets, the mulattoes generally wore cloth coats; and inasmuch as they were all plainly clean instead of being shabbily fashionable, and affected to be nothing except that which they really were, they looked twenty times more like gentlemen than nine-tenths of the bankers' clerks who swagger up and down Bond Street. It is a custom as to the mulatto children, that the males born on an estate should never be employed as field negroes, but as tradesmen; the females are brought up as domestics about the house. I had particularly invited "*Mr.* John-Canoe" (which I found to be the polite manner in which the negroes spoke of him), and there arrived a couple of very gay and gaudy ones. I inquired whether one of them was "John-Crayfish;" but I was told that John-Crayfish was John-Canoe's rival and enemy, and might belong to the factions of "the Blues and the Reds;" but on Cornwall they were all friends, and therefore there were only the father and the son—Mr. John-Canoe, senior, and Mr. John-Canoe, junior.

The person who gave me this information was a young mulatto carpenter, called Nicholas, whom I had noticed in the crowd, on my first arrival, for his clean appearance and intelligent countenance; and he now begged me to notice the smaller of the two John-Canoe machines. "To be sure," he said, "it was not so large nor so showy as the other, but then it was much better *proportioned* (his own word), and altogether much prettier;" and he said so much in praise of it, that I asked him whether he knew the maker? and then out came the motive: "Oh, yes! it was made by John Fuller, who lived in the next house to him, and worked in the same shop, and indeed they were just like brothers." So I desired to see his *fidus Achates*, and he brought me as smart and intelligent a little fellow as eye ever beheld, who came grinning from ear to ear to tell me that he had made every bit of the canoe with his own hands, and had set to work upon it the moment that he knew of massa's coming to Jamaica. And indeed it was as fine as paint, pasteboard, gilt paper, and looking-glass could make it! Unluckily, the breeze being very strong blew off a fine glittering umbrella, surmounted

with a plume of John-Crow feathers, which crowned the top; and a little wag of a negro boy whipped it up, clapped it upon his head, and performed the part of an impromptu Mr. John-Canoe with so much fun and grotesqueness, that he fairly beat the original performers out of the pit, and carried off all the applause of the spectators, and a couple of my dollars. The John-Canoes are fitted out at the expense of the rich negroes, who afterwards share the money collected from the spectators during their performance, allotting one share to the representator himself; and it is usual for the master of the estate to give them a couple of guineas apiece.

This Nicholas, whom I mentioned, is a very interesting person, both from his good looks and gentle manners, and from his story. He is the son of a white man, who on his death-bed charged his nephew and heir to purchase the freedom of this natural child. The nephew had promised to do so; I had consented; nothing was necessary but to find the substitute (which now is no easy matter); when about six months ago the nephew broke his neck, and the property went to a distant relation. Application in behalf of poor Nicholas has been made to the heir, and I heartily hope that he will enable me to release him. I felt strongly tempted to set him at liberty at once; but if I were to begin in that way, there would be no stopping; and it would be doing a kindness to an individual at the expense of all my other negroes—others would expect the same; and then I must either contrive to cultivate my estate with fewer hands, or must cease to cultivate it altogether—and, from inability to maintain them, send my negroes to seek bread for themselves—which, as two-thirds of them have been born upon the estate, and many of them are lame, dropsical, and of a great age, would, of all misfortunes that could happen to them, be the most cruel. Even when Nicholas was speaking to me about his liberty, he said, "It is not that I wish to go away, sir; it is only for the name and honour of being free: but I would always stay here and be your servant; and I had rather be an under-workman on Cornwall, than a head carpenter anywhere else." Possibly this was all palaver (in which the negroes are great dealers), but at least he *seemed* to be sincere; and I was heartily grieved that I could not allow myself to say more to him than that I sincerely

wished him to get his liberty, and would receive the very lowest exchange for him that common prudence would authorize. And even for those few kind words, the poor fellow seemed to think it impossible to find means strong enough to express his gratitude.

Nor is this the only instance in which Nicholas has been unlucky. It seems that he was the first lover of the beautiful Psyche, whom I had noticed on my arrival. This evening, after the performance of the John-Canoes, I desired to see some of the girls dance; and by general acclamation Psyche was brought forward to exhibit, she being avowedly the best dancer on the estate; and certainly nothing could be more light, graceful, easy, and spirited, than her performance. She perfectly answered the description of Sallust's Sempronia, who was said —"Saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ, et cui cariora semper omnia, quam decus et pudicitia fuit." When her dance was over, I called her to me, and gave her a handful of silver. "Ah, Psyche," said Nicholas, who was standing at my elbow, "Massa no give you all that if massa know you so bad girl! she run away from me, massa!" Psyche gave him a kind of pouting look, half kind, and half reproachful, and turned away. And then he told me that Psyche had been his wife (*one* of his wives he should have said); that he had had a child by her, and then she had left him for one of my "white people" (as they call the book-keepers), because he had a good salary, and could afford to give her more presents than a slave could. "Was there not another reason for your quarrelling?" said my agent. "Was there not a shade of colour too much?"—"Oh, massa!" answered Nicholas, "the child is not my own, that is certain; it is a black man's child. But still I will always take care of the child because it have no friends, and me wish make it good neger for massa—and *she* take good care of it too," he added, throwing his arm round the waist of a sickly-looking woman rather in years; "she my wife, too, massa, long ago; old now and sick, but always good to me, so I still live with her, and will never leave her, never massa; she Polly's mother, sir." Polly is a pretty, delicate-looking girl, nursing a young child; she belongs to the mansion-house, and seems to think it as necessary a part of her duty to nurse *me* as the child. To be sure she has not as yet insisted

upon suckling me; but if I open a *jalousie* in the evening, Polly walks in and shuts it without saying a word. "Oh, don't shut the window, Polly."—"Night-air not good for massa;" and she shuts the casement without mercy. I am drinking orangeade, or some such liquid; Polly walks up to the table, and seizes it; "Leave that jug, Polly; I am dying with thirst."—"More hurt massa;" and away go Polly and the orangeade. So that I begin to fancy myself Sancho in Barataria, and that Polly is the Señor Doctor Pedro in petticoats.

The difference of colour, which had offended Nicholas so much in Psyche's child, is a fault which no mulatto will pardon; nor can the separation of castes in India be more rigidly observed, than that of complexional shades among the Creoles. My black page, Cubina, is married: I told him that I hoped he had married a pretty woman; why had he not married Mary Wiggins? He seemed quite shocked at the very idea. "Oh, massa, me black, Mary Wiggins sambo; that not allowed."

The dances performed to-night seldom admitted more than three persons at a time: to me they appeared to be movements entirely dictated by the caprice of the moment; but I am told that there is a regular figure, and that the least mistake, or a single false step, is immediately noticed by the rest. I could indeed sometimes fancy that one story represented an old duenna guarding a girl from a lover; and another, the pursuit of a young woman by two suitors, the one young and the other old; but this might be only fancy. However, I am told that they have dances which not only represent courtship and marriage, but being brought to bed. Their music consisted of nothing but Gambys (Eboe drums), Shaky-shekies, and Kitty-katties: the latter is nothing but any flat piece of board beat upon with two sticks, and the former is a bladder with a parcel of pebbles in it. But the principal part of the music to which they dance is vocal; one girl generally singing two lines by herself, and being answered by a chorus. To make out either the rhyme of the air, or meaning of the words, was out of the question. But one very long song was about the Duke of Wellington, every stanza being chorused with,

"Ay! hey-day! Waterloo!
Waterloo! ho! ho! ho!"

I too had a great deal to do in the business, for every third word was "massa."

The singing began about six o'clock, and lasted, without a moment's pause, till two in the morning; and such a noise never did I hear till then. The whole of the floor which was not taken up by the dancers was, through every part of the house except the bed-rooms, occupied by men, women, and children, fast asleep. But although they were allowed rum and sugar by whole pailfuls, and were most of them *merry* in consequence, there was not one of them drunk; except, indeed, one person, and that was an old woman, who sang, and shouted, and tossed herself about in an elbow chair, till she tumbled it over, and rolled about the room in a manner which shocked the delicacy of even the least prudish part of the company. At twelve my agent wanted to dismiss them; but I would not suffer them to be interrupted on the first holiday that I had given them; so they continued to dance and shout till two, when human nature could bear no more, and they left me to my bed, and a violent headache.

JANUARY 7. (*Sunday.*)

In spite of their exertions of last night, the negroes were again with me by two o'clock in the day, with their drums and their choruses. However, they found themselves unable to keep it up as they had done on the former night, and were content to withdraw to their own houses by ten in the evening. But first they requested to have to-morrow to themselves, in order that they might go to the mountains for provisions. For although their cottages are always surrounded with trees and shrubs, their provision-grounds are kept quite distinct, and are at a distance among the mountains. Of course, I made no difficulty of acceding to their request, but upon condition that they should ask for no more holidays till the crop should be completed. For the purpose of cultivating their provision-grounds, they are allowed every Saturday; but on the occasion of my arrival, they obtained permission to have the Saturday to themselves, and to fetch their week's provisions from the mountains on the following Monday. All the slaves maintain themselves in this manner by their own labour; even the domestic attendants are not

exempted, but are expected to feed themselves, except stated allowances of salt-fish, salt-pork, &c.

JANUARY 8.

I really believe that the negresses can produce children at pleasure; and where they are barren, it is just as hens will frequently not lay eggs on ship-board, because they do not like their situation. Cubina's wife is in the family way, and I told him that if the child should live I would christen it for him, if he wished it. "Tank you, kind massa, me like it very much: much oblige if massa do that for *me* too." So I promised to baptize the father and the baby on the same day, and said that I would be godfather to any children that might be born on the estate during my residence in Jamaica. This was soon spread about, and although I have not yet been here a week, two women are in the straw already, Jug Betty and Minerva: the first is wife to my head driver, the Duke of Sully; but my sense of propriety was much gratified at finding that Minerva's husband was called Captain.

In my evening's drive I met the negroes returning from the mountains, with baskets of provisions sufficient to last them for the week. By law they are only allowed every other Saturday for the purpose of cultivating their own grounds, which, indeed, is sufficient; but by giving them every alternate Saturday into the bargain, it enables them to perform their task with so much ease as almost converts it into an amusement; and the frequent visiting their grounds makes them grow habitually as much attached to them as they are to their houses and gardens. It is also adviseable for them to bring home only a week's provisions at a time, rather than a fortnight's; for they are so thoughtless and improvident, that, when they find themselves in possession of a larger supply than is requisite for their immediate occasions, they will sell half to the wandering higglers, or at Savannah la Mar, in exchange for spirits; and then, at the end of the week, they find themselves entirely unprovided with food, and come to beg a supply from the master's storehouse.

The sensitive plant is a great nuisance in Jamaica: it overruns the pastures, and, being armed with very strong sharp prickles, it wounds the mouths of the cattle, and, in some places,

makes it quite impossible for them to feed. Various endeavours have been made to eradicate this inconvenient weed, but none as yet have proved effectual.

JANUARY 10.

The houses here are generally built and arranged according to one and the same model. My own is of wood, partly raised upon pillars; it consists of a single floor: a long gallery, called a piazza, terminated at each end by a square room, runs the whole length of the house. On each side of the piazza is a range of bed-rooms, and the porticoes of the two fronts form two more rooms, with balustrades, and flights of steps descending to the lawn. The whole house is virandoed with shifting Venetian blinds to admit air; except that one of the end rooms has sash-windows on account of the rains, which, when they arrive, are so heavy, and shift with the wind so suddenly from the one side to the other, that all the blinds are obliged to be kept closed; consequently the whole house is in total darkness during their continuance, except the single sash-windowed room. There is nothing underneath except a few store-rooms and a kind of waiting-hall; but none of the domestic negroes sleep in the house, all going home at night to their respective cottages and families.

Cornwall House itself stands on a dead flat, and the works are built in its immediate neighbourhood, for the convenience of their being the more under the agent's personal inspection (a point of material consequence with them all, but more particularly for the hospital). This dead flat is only ornamented with a few scattered bread-fruit and cotton trees, a grove of mangoes, and the branch of a small river, which turns the mill. Several of these buildings are ugly enough; but the shops of the cooper, carpenter, and blacksmith, some of the trees in their vicinity, and the negro-huts, embowered in shrubberies, and groves of oranges, plantains, cocoas, and pepper-trees, would be reckoned picturesque in the most ornamented grounds. A large spreading tamarind fronts me at this moment, and overshadows the stables, which are formed of open wickerwork; and an orange-tree, loaded with fruit, grows against the window at which I am writing.

On three sides of the landscape the prospect is bounded by lofty purple mountains; and the variety of occupations going on all around me, and at the same time, give an inconceivable air of life and animation to the whole scene, especially as all those occupations look clean,—even those which in England look dirty. All the tradespeople are dressed in jackets and trousers, either white or of red and sky-blue stripe. One band of negroes are carrying the ripe canes on their heads to the mill; another set are conveying away the *trash*, after the juice has been extracted; flocks of turkeys are sheltering from the heat under the trees; the river is filled with ducks and geese; the coopers and carpenters are employed about the puncheons; carts drawn some by six, others by eight, oxen, are bringing loads of Indian corn from the fields; the black children are employed in gathering it into the granary, and in quarrelling with pigs as black as themselves, who are equally busy in stealing the corn whenever the children are looking another way: in short, a plantation possesses all the movement and interest of a farm, without its dung, and its stench, and its dirty accompaniments.

JANUARY 11.

I saw the whole process of sugar-making this morning. The ripe canes are brought in bundles to the mill, where the cleanest of the women are appointed, one to put them into the machine for crushing them, and another to draw them out after the juice has been extracted, when she throws them into an opening in the floor close to her; another band of negroes collects them below, when, under the name of *trash*, they are carried away to serve for fuel. The juice, which is itself at first of a pale ash-colour, gushes out in great streams, quite white with foam, and passes through a wooden gutter into the boiling-house, where it is received into the siphon, or "cock-copper," where fire is applied to it, and it is slaked with lime, in order to make it granulate. The feculent parts of it rise to the top, while the purer and more fluid flow through another gutter into the second copper. When little but the impure scum on the surface remains to be drawn off, the first gutter communicating with the copper is stopped, and the grosser parts are obliged to find a new course through another gutter, which conveys them to the distillery, where,

being mixed with the molasses, or treacle, they are manufacture into rum. From the second copper they are transmitted int the first, and thence into two others, and in these four latte basins the scum is removed with skimmers pierced with holes till it becomes sufficiently free from impurities to be *skipped* off that is, to be again ladled out of the coppers and spread into th coolers, where it is left to granulate. The sugar is then formed and is removed into the *curing-house*, where it is put into hogs heads, and left to settle for a certain time, during which thos parts which are too poor and too liquid to granulate, drip fro the casks into vessels placed beneath them: these drippings ar the molasses, which, being carried into the distillery, and mixe with the coarser scum formerly mentioned, form that mixtur from which the spirituous liquor of sugar is afterwards produce by fermentation: when but once distilled it is called "lo wine;" and it is not till after it has gone through a second dis tillation, that it acquires the name of rum. The "trash" use for fuel consists of the empty canes: that which is employed fo fodder and for thatching is furnished by the superabundant cane tops; after so many have been set apart as are required fo planting. After these original plants have been cut, their root throw up suckers, which, in time, become canes, and are called *ratoons*: they are far inferior in juice to the planted canes; bu then, on the other hand, they require much less weeding, and spare the negroes the only laborious part of the business o sugar-making, the digging holes for the plants; therefore although an acre of ratoons will produce but one hogshead o sugar, while an acre of plants will produce two, the superiority of the ratooned piece is very great, inasmuch as the saving o time and labour will enable the proprietor to cultivate five acres of ratoons in the same time with one of plants. Unluckily, after three crops, or five at the utmost, in general the ratoons are totally exhausted, and you are obliged to have recourse to fresh plants.

Last night a poor man named Charles, who had been coach-man to my uncle ages ago, was brought into the hospital, having missed a step in the boiling-house, and plunged his foot into the siphon: fortunately, the fire had not long been kindled, and though the liquor was hot enough to scald him, it was not suffi-

siently so to do him any material injury. The old man had presented himself to me on Saturday's holiday (or *play-day*, in the negro dialect), and had shown me, with great exultation, the coat and waistcoat which had been the last present of his old massa. Charles is now my chief mason, and, as one of the principal persons on the estate, was entitled, by old custom, to the compliment of a *distinguishing* dollar *on* my arrival; but at the same time that I gave him the dollar to which his situation entitled him, I gave him another for himself, as a keepsake: he put it into the pocket of "his old massa's" waistcoat, and assured me that they should never again be separated. On hearing of his accident I went over to the hospital to see that he was well taken care of; and immediately the poor fellow began talking to me about my grandfather and his young massa, and the young missies, his sisters, and while I suffered him to chatter away for an hour, he totally forgot the pain of his burnt leg.

It was particularly agreeable to me to observe on Saturday, as a proof of the good treatment which they had experienced, so many old servants of the family, many of whom had been born on the estate, and who, though turned of sixty and seventy, were still strong, healthy, and cheerful. Many manumitted negroes also came from other parts of the country to this festival on hearing of my arrival, because, as they said—"if they did not come to see massa, they were afraid that it would look ungrateful, and as if they cared no longer about him and Cornwall now that they were free." So they stayed two or three days on the estate, coming up to the house for their dinners, and going to sleep at night among their friends in their own former habitations, the negro huts; and when they went away they assured me that nothing should prevent their coming back to bid me farewell before I left the island. All this may be palaver; but certainly they at least play their parts with such an air of truth, and warmth, and enthusiasm, that after the cold hearts and repulsive manners of England, the contrast is infinitely agreeable.

"Je ne vois que des yeux toujours prêts à sourire."

I find it quite impossible to resist the fascination of the conscious pleasure of pleasing; and my heart, which I have so long been obliged to keep closed, seems to expand itself again in the

sunshine of the kind looks and words which meet me at ever turn, and seem to wait for mine as anxiously as if they were s many diamonds.

JANUARY 12.

In the year '80, this parish of Westmoreland was kept in perpetual state of alarm by a runaway negro called *Plato*, wh had established himself among the Moreland mountains, and col lected a troop of banditti, of which he was himself the chie He robbed very often, and murdered occasionally; but gallantr was his every day occupation. Indeed, being a remarkably tal athletic young fellow, among the beauties of his own complexio he found but few Lucretias; and his retreat in the mountain was as well furnished as the harem of Constantinople. Ever handsome negress who had the slightest cause of complain against her master, took the first opportunity of eloping to joi *Plato*, where she found freedom, protection, and unbounde generosity; for he spared no pains to secure their affections b gratifying their vanity. Indeed, no Creole lady could ventur out on a visit without running the risk of having her bandbo run away with by Plato for the decoration of his sultanas; an if the maid who carried the bandbox happened to be well-looking he ran away with the maid as well as the bandbox. Every en deavour to seize this desperado was long in vain: a large reward was put upon his head, but no negro dared to approach him for besides his acknowledged courage, he was a professor of Obi and had threatened that whoever dared to lay a finger upon hin should suffer spiritual torments, as well as be physically sho through the head.

Unluckily for Plato, rum was an article with him of the firs necessity; the look-out which was kept for him was too vigilan to admit of his purchasing spirituous liquors for himself; and once, when for that purpose he had ventured into the neighbour hood of Montego Bay, he was recognised by a slave, who imme diately gave the alarm. Unfortunately for this poor fellow, whose name was Taffy, at that moment all his companions hap pened to be out of hearing; and, after the first moment's alarm finding that no one approached, the exasperated robber rushe upon him, and lifted the bill-hook with which he was armed,

for the purpose of cleaving his skull. Taffy fled for it; but Plato was the younger, the stronger, and the swifter of the two, and gained upon him every moment. Taffy, however, on the other hand, possessed that one quality by which, according to the fable, the cat was enabled to save herself from the hounds, when the fox, with his thousand tricks, was caught by them. He was an admirable climber, an art in which Plato possessed no skill; and a bread-nut tree, which is remarkably difficult of ascent, presenting itself before him, in a few moments Taffy was bawling for help from the very top of it. To reach him was impossible for his enemy; but still his destruction was hard at hand, for Plato began to hack the tree with his bill; and it was evident that a very short space of time would be sufficient to level it with the ground. In this dilemma Taffy had nothing for it but to break off the branches near him, and he contrived to pelt these so dexterously at the head of his assailant, that he fairly kept him at bay till his cries at length reached the ears of his companions, and their approach compelled the banditti-captain once more to seek safety among the mountains.

After this Plato no longer dared to approach Montego town; but still spirits must be had—how was he to obtain them? There was an old watchman on the outskirts of the estate of Canaan, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance, and frequently had passed the night in his hut; the old man having been equally induced by his presents and by dread of his corporeal strength and supposed supernatural power, to profess the warmest attachment to the interests of his terrible friend. To this man Plato at length resolved to entrust himself. He gave him money to purchase spirits, and appointed a particular day when he would come to receive them. The reward placed upon the robber's head was more than either gratitude or terror could counterbalance; and on the same day when the watchman set out to purchase the rum, he apprised two of his friends at Canaan for whose use it was intended, and advised *them* to take the opportunity of obtaining the reward.

The two negroes posted themselves in proper time near the watchman's hut. Most unwisely, instead of sending down some of his gang, Plato, in his full confidence in the friendship of his confidant, himself entered the cabin: but so great was their

alarm at seeing this dreadful personage, that they remained in their concealment, nor dared to make an attempt at seizing him. The spirits were delivered to the robber: he might have retired with them unmolested, but in his rashness and his eagerness to taste the liquor, of which he had so long been deprived, he opened the flagon, and swallowed draught after draught, till he sank upon the ground in a state of complete insensibility. The watchman then summoned the two negroes from their concealment, who bound his arms, and conveyed him to Montego Bay, where he was immediately sentenced to execution. He died most heroically; kept up the terrors of his imposture to his last moment; told the magistrates who condemned him that his death should be revenged by a storm which would lay waste the whole island that year; and when his negro jailer was binding him to the stake at which he was destined to suffer, he assured him that he should not live long to triumph in his death, for that he had taken good care to Obeah him before his quitting the prison. It certainly did happen, strangely enough, that before the year was over, the most violent storm took place ever known in Jamaica; and as to the jailer, his imagination was so forcibly struck by the threats of the dying man, that although every care was taken of him, the power of medicine exhausted, and even a voyage to America undertaken, in hopes that a change of scene might change the course of his ideas, still, from the moment of Plato's death, he gradually pined and withered away, and finally expired before the completion of the twelvemonth.

The belief in Obeah is now greatly weakened, but still exists in some degree. Not above ten months ago my agent was informed that a negro of very suspicious manners and appearance was harboured by some of my people on the mountain lands. He found means to have him surprised, and on examination there was found upon him a bag containing a great variety of strange materials for incantations; such as thunder-stones, cat's ears, the feet of various animals, human hair, fish bones, the teeth of alligators, &c. He was conveyed to Montego Bay, and no sooner was it understood that this old African was in prison, than depositions were poured in from all quarters from negroes who testified to having seen him exercise his magical arts, and in particular, to his having sold such and such slaves medicines

and charms to deliver them from their enemies; being, in plain English, nothing less than rank poisons. He was convicted of Obeah upon the most indubitable evidence. The good old practice of burning has fallen into disrepute, so he was sentenced to be transported, and was shipped off the island, to the great satisfaction of persons of all colours—white, black, and yellow.

January 13.

Throughout the island many estates, formerly very flourishing and productive, have been thrown up for want of hands to cultivate them, and are now suffered to lie waste: four in my own immediate neighbourhood are in this situation. Finding their complement of negroes decrease, and having no means of recruiting them, proprietors of two estates have in numerous instances found themselves obliged to give up one of them, and draw off the negroes for the purpose of properly cultivating the other.

I have just had an instance strikingly convincing of the extreme care required in rearing negro children. Two have been born since my arrival. My housekeeper was hardly ever out of the lying-in apartment; I always visited it myself once a day, and sometimes twice, in order that I might be certain of the women being well taken care of. Not a day passed without the inspection of a physician; nothing of indulgence that was proper for them was denied; and besides their ordinary food, the mothers received every day the most nourishing and palatable dish that was brought to my own table. Add to this, that the women themselves were kind-hearted creatures, and particularly anxious to rear these children, because I had promised to be their godfather myself. Yet in spite of all this attention and indulgence, one of the mothers, during the nurse's absence for ten minutes, grew alarmed at her infant's apparent sleepiness. To rouse it she began dancing and shaking it till it was in a strong perspiration, and then she stood with it for some minutes at an open window while a strong north wind was blowing. In consequence, it caught cold, and the next morning symptoms of a locked jaw showed themselves. The poor woman was the image of grief itself: she sat on her bed, looking at the child which lay by her side with its little hands clasped, its teeth set, and its eyes fixed, writhing in the agony of the spasm, while she was herself

quite motionless and speechless, although the tears trickled down her cheeks incessantly. All assistance was fruitless; her thoughtlessness for five minutes had killed the infant, and at noon to-day it expired.

This woman was a tender mother, had borne ten children, and yet has now but one alive: another, at present in the hospital, has borne seven, and but one has lived to puberty; and the instances of those who have had four, five, six children, without succeeding in bringing up one, in spite of the utmost attention and indulgence, are very numerous; so heedless and inattentive are the best-intentioned mothers, and so subject in this climate are infants to dangerous complaints. The locked jaw is the common and most fatal one; so fatal, indeed, that the midwife (the *graundee* is her negro appellation) told me, the other day, "Oh, massa, till nine days over, we *no hope* of them." Certainly care and kindness, on the part of the planters, are not adequate to save the children; for the son of a sovereign could not have been more anxiously well treated than was the poor little negro who died this morning.

The negroes are always buried in their own gardens, and many strange and fantastical ceremonies are observed on the occasion. If the corpse be that of a grown-up person, they consult it as to which way it pleases to be carried; and they make attempts upon various roads without success, before they can hit upon the right one. Till that is accomplished, they stagger under the weight of the coffin, struggle against its force, which draws them in a different direction from that in which they had settled to go; and sometimes in the contest the corpse and the coffin jump off the shoulders of the bearers. But if, as is frequently the case, any person is suspected of having hastened the catastrophe, the corpse will then refuse to go any road but the one which passes by the habitation of the suspected person, and as soon as it approaches his house, no human power is equal to persuading it to pass. As the negroes are extremely superstitious, and very much afraid of ghosts (whom they call the *duppy*), I rather wonder at their choosing to have their dead buried in their gardens; but I understand their argument to be, that they need only fear the duppies of their enemies, but have nothing to apprehend from those after death who loved them in their lifetime; but

the duppies of their adversaries are very alarming beings, equally powerful by day as by night, and are not only spiritually terrific, but can give very hard substantial knocks on the pate, whenever they see fit occasion, and can find a good opportunity.

Last Saturday a negro was brought into the hospital, having fallen into epileptic fits, with which till then he had never been troubled. As the faintings had seized him at the slaughter-house, and the fellow was an African, it was at first supposed by his companions, that the sight and smell of the meat had affected him; for many of the Africans cannot endure animal food of any kind, and most of the Ebres in particular are made ill by eating turtle, even although they can use any other food without injury. However, upon inquiry among his shipmates, it appeared that he had frequently eaten beef without the slightest inconvenience. For my own part, the symptoms of his complaint were such as to make me suspect him of having tasted something poisonous, especially as, just before his first fit, he had been observed in the small grove of mangoes near the house; but I was assured by the negroes, one and all, that nothing could possibly have induced him to eat an herb or fruit from that grove, as it had been used as a burying-ground for "the white people." But although my idea of the poison was scouted, still the mention of the burying-ground suggested another cause for his illness to the negroes, and they had no sort of doubt, that in passing through the burying-ground he had been struck down by the duppy of a white person not long deceased, whom he had formerly offended, and that these repeated fainting-fits were the consequence of that ghostly blow. The negroes have in various publications been accused of a total want of religion, but this appears to me quite incompatible with the ideas of spirits existing after dissolution of the body, which necessarily implies a belief in a future state; and although (as far as I can make out) they have no outward forms of religion, the most devout Christian cannot have "God bless you" oftener on his lips than the negro.

The Africans generally believe that there is a life beyond the present, and that they shall enjoy it by returning to their own country; and this idea used frequently to induce them, soon after

their landing in the colonies, to commit suicide; but this was never known to take place except among fresh negroes, and since the execrable slave-trade has been abolished, such an illusion is unheard of. As to those who had once got over the dreadful period of "seasoning," they were generally soon sensible enough of the amelioration of their condition to make the idea of returning to Africa the most painful that could be presented to them. But, to be sure, poor creatures! what with the terrors and sufferings of the voyage, and the unavoidable hardships of the seasoning, those advantages were purchased more dearly than any in this life can possibly be worth. God be thanked, all that is now at an end; and certainly, as far as I can as yet judge, if I were now standing on the banks of Lethe, with a goblet of the waters of oblivion in my hand, and asked whether I chose to enter life anew as an English labourer or a Jamaica negro, I should have no hesitation in preferring the latter. For myself, it appears to me almost worth surrendering the luxuries and pleasures of Great Britain, for the single pleasure of being surrounded with beings who are always laughing and singing, and who seem to perform their work with so much *nonchalanee*, taking up their baskets as if it were perfectly optional whether they took them up or left them there; sauntering along with their hands dangling; stopping to chat with every one they meet; or if they meet no one, standing still to look round, and examine whether there is nothing to be seen that can amuse them; so that I can hardly persuade myself that it is really *work* that they are about.

I am told that there is one part of their business very laborious, the digging holes for receiving the cane-plants, which I have not as yet seen; but this does not occupy above a month at the utmost, at two periods of the year; and on my estate this service is chiefly performed by extra negroes, hired for the purpose; which, although equally hard on the hired negroes (called a jobbing gang), at least relieves my own, and after all puts even the former on much the same footing with English day-labourers.

But if I could be contented to *live* in Jamaica, I am still more certain that it is the only agreeable place for me to die in; for I have got a family mausoleum, which looks for all the world like the theatrical representation of the "tomb of all the Capu-

lets." Its outside is most plentifully decorated "with sculptured stones,"—"arms, angels, epitaphs, and bones." Within is a tomb of the purest white marble, raised on a platform of ebony; the building, which is surmounted by a statue of Time, with his scythe and hour-glass, stands in the very heart of an orange-grove, now in full bearing; and the whole scene this morning looked so cool, so tranquil, and so gay, and is so perfectly divested of all vestiges of dissolution, that the sight of it quite gave me an appetite for being buried. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me what becomes of this little ugly husk of mine, when once I shall have "shuffled off this mortal coil;" or else I should certainly follow my grandfather's example, and, die where I might, order my body to be sent over for burial to Cornwall; for I never yet saw a place where one could lie down more comfortably to listen for the last trumpet.

JANUARY 14. (*Sunday.*)

I gave a dinner to my "white people," as the book-keepers, &c., are called here, and who have a separate house and establishment for themselves; and certainly a man must be destitute of every spark of hospitality, and have had "Caucasus horrens" for his great-grandmother, if he can resist giving dinners in a country where Nature seems to have set up a superior kind of "London Tavern" of her own. They who are possessed by the "Ciborum ambitiosa fames, et lautæ gloria mensæ," ought to ship themselves off for Jamaica out of hand; and even the lord mayor himself need not blush to give his aldermen such a dinner as is placed on my table, even when I dine alone. Land and sea turtle, quails, snipes, plovers, and pigeons and doves of all descriptions—of which the ring-tail has been allowed to rank with the most exquisite of the winged species, by epicures of such distinction, that their opinion, in matters of this nature, almost carries with it the weight of a law,—excellent pork, barbecued pigs, pepper-pots, with numberless other excellent dishes, form the ordinary fare; the poultry also is miraculously large and fine. Then our tarts are made of pine-apples, and pine-apples make the best tarts that I ever tasted; there is no end to the variety of fruits, of which the shaddock is "in itself a host;" but the most singular and exquisite flavour, perhaps, is to be

found in the granadillo, a fruit which grows upon a species of vine, and, in fact, appears to be a kind of cucumber. It must be suffered to hang till it is dead ripe, when it is scarcely anything except juice and seeds, which can only be eaten with a spoon. It requires sugar, but the acid is truly delicious, and like no other separate flavour that I ever met with; what it most resembles is a *macedoine*, as it unites the different tastes of almost all other fruits, and has, at the same time, a very strong flavour of wine.

As to fish, Savannah la Mar is reckoned the best place in the island, both for variety and *safety*; for, in many parts, the fish feed upon copperas-banks, and cannot be used without much precaution; here, none is necessary: and it is only to be wished that their names were somewhat more attractive; for it must be owned, that nothing can be less tempting than the sound of Jew-fish, hog-fish, mud-fish, snappers, god-dammies, groupas, and grunts! Of the sea-fish which I have hitherto met with, the Deep-water Silk appears to me the best; and of river-fish, the mountain-mullet: but, indeed, the fish is generally so excellent, and in such profusion, that I never sit down to table without wishing for the company of Queen Atygatis of Scythia, who was so particularly fond of fish, that she prohibited all her subjects from eating it on pain of death, through fear that there might not be enough left for her majesty.

This fondness for fish seems to be a sort of royal passion: more than one of our English sovereigns died of eating too many lampreys; though, to own the truth, it was suspected that the monks, in one or two instances, improved the same by the addition of a little ratsbane; and Mirabeau assures us, that Frederick the Second of Prussia might have prolonged his existence, if he could but have resisted the fascination of an eel-pie; but the charm was too strong for him, and, like the great-grandmother of us all, he ate and died—"All for eel-pye, or this world well lost!"

The provision-grounds of the negroes furnish them with plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, and yams: of the latter there is a regular harvest once a-year, and they remain in great perfection for many months, provided they are dug up carefully, but the slightest wound with the spade is sufficient to rot them. Catalue

(a species of spinach) is a principal article in their pepper-pots; but in this parish their most valuable and regular supply of food arises from the cocoa-finger, or coccos, a species of the yam, which lasts all the year round. These vegetables form the basis of negro sustenance; but the slaves also receive from their owners a regular weekly allowance of red herrings and salt meat, which serve to give a relish to their vegetable diet; and, indeed, they are so passionately fond of salted provisions, that, instead of giving them fresh beef (as at their festival of Saturday last), I have been obliged to provide some hogsheads of salt fish, as likely to afford them more gratification.

January 15.

The offspring of a white man and black woman is a *mulatto;* the mulatto and black produce a *sambo;* from the mulatto and white comes the *quadroon;* from the quadroon and white the *mustee;* the child of a mustee by a white man is called a *mustee-fino;* and the children of a musteefino are free by law, and rank as white persons to all intents and purposes. I think it is Long who asserts, that two mulattoes will never have children; but, as far as the most positive assurances can go, since my arrival in Jamaica, I have reason to believe the contrary, and that mulattoes breed together just as well as blacks and whites; but they are almost universally weak and effeminate persons, and thus their children are very difficult to rear. On a sugar-estate one black is considered as more than equal to two mulattoes. Beautiful as are their forms in general, and easy and graceful as are their movements (which, indeed, appear to me so striking, that they cannot fail to excite the admiration of any one who has ever looked with delight on statues), still the women of colour are deficient in one of the most requisite points of female beauty. Young or old, I have not yet seen such a thing as a bosom.

January 16.

I never witnessed on the stage a scene so picturesque as a negro village. I walked through my own to-day, and visited the houses of the drivers, and other principal persons; and if I were to decide according to my own taste, I should infinitely have preferred their habitations to my own. Each house is sur-

rounded by a separate garden, and the whole village is intersected by lanes, bordered with all kinds of sweet-smelling and flowering plants; but not such gardens as those belonging to our English cottagers, where a few cabbages and carrots just peep up and grovel upon the earth between hedges, in square narrow beds, and where the tallest tree is a gooseberry bush: the vegetables of the negroes are all cultivated in their provision-grounds, which form their *kitchen*-gardens; but these are all for ornament or luxury, and are filled with a profusion of oranges, shaddocks, cocoa-nuts, and peppers of all descriptions: in particular I was shown the abba, or palm-tree, resembling the cocoa-tree, but much more beautiful, as its leaves are larger and more numerous, and, feathering to the ground as they grow old, they form a kind of natural arbour. It bears a large fruit, or rather vegetable, towards the top of the tree, in shape like the cone of the pine, but formed of seeds, some scarlet and bright as coral, others of a brownish-red or purple. The abba requires a length of years to arrive at maturity: a very fine one, which was shown me this morning, was supposed to be upwards of a hundred years old; and one of a very moderate size had been planted at the least twenty years, and had only borne fruit once.

It appears to me a strong proof of the good treatment which the negroes on Cornwall have been accustomed to receive, that there are many very old people upon it; I saw to-day a woman near a hundred years of age; and I am told that there are several of sixty, seventy, and eighty. I was glad also to find, that several negroes who have obtained their freedom, and possess little properties of their own in the mountains and at Savannah la Mar, look upon my estate so little as the scene of their former sufferings while slaves, that they frequently come down to pass a few days in their ancient habitations with their former companions, by way of relaxation. One woman in particular expressed her hopes that I should not be offended at her still coming to Cornwall now and then, although she belonged to it no longer; and begged me to give directions before my return to England, that her visits should not be hindered on the grounds of her having no business there.

My visit to Jamaica has at least produced one advantage to myself. Several runaways, who had disappeared for some time

(some even for several months), have again made their appearance in the field, and I have desired that no questions should be asked. On the other hand, one of my ladies, after enjoying herself during the Saturday and Sunday, which were allowed for holidays on my arrival, chose to *pull foot*, and did not return from her hiding-place in the mountains till this morning. In excuse for her disappearance she alleged that her husband had called her "a very bad woman," which had provoked her so much, that she could not bear to stay with him; and she assured me, that he was himself "a very bad man;" which, if true, was certainly enough to justify any lady, black or white, in making a little incognito excursion for a week or so; therefore, as it appeared to be nothing more than a conjugal quarrel, and as she engaged never to run away any more (at the same time allowing that she had suffered her resentment to carry her too far, when it had carried her all the way to the mountains), I desired that an act of oblivion might be passed in her favour, and away she went, quite happy, to pick hogs' meat.

The negro houses are composed of wattles on the outside, with rafters of sweet-wood, and are plastered within and whitewashed; they consist of two chambers, one for cooking and the other for sleeping, and are, in general, well furnished with chairs, tables, &c., and I saw none without a four-post bedstead and plenty of bed-clothes; for, in spite of the warmth of the climate, when the sun is not above the horizon the negro always feels very chilly. I am assured that many of my slaves are very rich, and that they are never without salt provisions, porter, and even wine, to entertain their friends and their visiters from the bay or the mountains. As I passed through their grounds, many little requests were preferred to me: one wanted an additional supply of lime for the whitewashing his house; another was building a new house for a superannuated wife (for they have all so much decency as to call their tender attachments by a conjugal name), and wanted a little assistance towards the finishing it; a third requested a new axe to work with; and several entreated me to negotiate the purchase of some relation or friend belonging to another estate, and with whom they were anxious to be reunited: but all their requests were for additional indulgences; not one complained of ill-treatment, hunger, or over-work.

Poor Nicholas gave me a fresh instance of his being one of those whom Fortune pitches upon to show her spite: he has had four children, none of whom are alive; the eldest of them, a fine little girl of four years old, fell into the mill-stream, and was drowned before any one was aware of her danger. His wife told me that she had had fifteen children, had taken the utmost care of them, and yet had now but two alive: she said, indeed, fifteen at first, but she afterwards corrected herself, and explained that she had "twelve whole children and three half ones;" by which she meant miscarriages.

Besides the profits arising from their superabundance of provisions, which the better sort of negroes are enabled to sell regularly once a week at Savannah la Mar to a considerable amount, they keep a large stock of poultry, and pigs without number; which latter cost their owners but little, though they cost me a great deal; for they generally make their way into the cane-pieces, and sometimes eat me up a hogshead of sugar in the course of the morning: but the most expensive of the planter's enemies are the rats, whose numbers are incredible; they are so destructive that a reward is given for killing them. During the last six months my agent has paid for three thousand rats killed upon Cornwall. Nor is the loss of the sugar they consume the greatest evil; the worst mischief is, that if, through the carelessness of those whose business it is to supply the mill, one cane which has been gnawed by the rats is allowed admittance, that single damaged piece will produce acidity enough to spoil the whole sugar.

January 17.

In this country there is scarcely any twilight, and all nature seems to wake at the same moment. About six o'clock the darkness disperses, the sun rises, and instantly everything is in motion: the negroes are going to the field, the cattle are driving to pasture, the pigs and the poultry are pouring out from their hutches, the old women are preparing food on the lawn for the *pickaninnies*, whom they keep feeding at all hours of the day; and all seem to be going to their employments, none to their work, the men and the women just as quietly and leisurely as the pigs and the poultry. The sight is really quite gay and amusing,

and I am generally out of bed in time to enjoy it, especially as the continuance of the cool north breezes renders the weather still delicious, though the pleasure is rather an expensive one Not a drop of rain has fallen since the 16th of November; the young canes are burning; and the drying quality of these "norths" is still more detrimental than the want of rain, so that these winds may be said to blow my pockets inside out; and as every draught of air, which I inhale with so much pleasure, is estimated to cost me a guinea, I feel, while breathing it, like Miss Burney's Citizen at Vauxhall, who kept muttering to himself, with every bit of ham that he put into his mouth, "There goes sixpence, and there goes a shilling!"

JANUARY 18.

A Galli-wasp, which was killed in the neighbouring morass, has just been brought to me. This is the alligator in miniature, and is even more dreaded by the negroes than its great relation: it is only to be found in swamps and morasses: that which was brought to me was about eighteen inches in length, and I understand that it is seldom longer, although, as it grows in years, its thickness and the size of its jaws and head become greatly increased. It runs away on being encountered, and conceals itself; and it is only dangerous if trampled upon by accident, or if attacked; but then its bite is dreadful, not only from its tongue being armed with a sting (the venom of which is very powerful, although not mortal), but from its teeth being so brittle that they generally break in the wound, and as it is hardly possible to extract the pieces entirely, the wound corrupts, and becomes an incurable sore of the most offensive nature. Luckily, these reptiles are very scarce; but nothing can exceed the terror and aversion in which they are held by the negroes. This one had been lying dead in the room for several hours, yet, on my servant's accidentally stirring the board on which it was stretched for my inspection, my little negro servant George darted out of the room in terror, and was at the bottom of the staircase in a moment. The skin of this animal was like shagreen in appearance and strength, and was almost entirely composed of layers of very small scales; the colours were brownish-yellow and olive-green, the teeth numerous and pierc-

ing, and the claws of the feet very long and sharp: altogether it is a hideous and disgusting creature. As to the alligator of Jamaica, it is a timid animal, which never was known to attack the human species, though it frequently takes the liberty of running away with a dog or two, which appear to be their venison and turtle. There is no river on my estate large enough for them to inhabit; but, in Paradise River, which is not above four miles off, I understand that they are numerous.

JANUARY 19.

A young mulatto carpenter, belonging to Horace Beckford's estate of Shrewsbury, came to beg my intercession with his overseer. He had been absent two days without leave, and on these occasions it is customary for the slaves to apply to some neighbouring gentleman for a note in their behalf, which, as I am told, never fails to obtain the pardon required, as the managers of estates are in general but too happy to find an excuse for passing over without punishment any offences which are not very heinous. Indeed, what with the excellent laws already enacted for the protection of the slaves, and which are every year still further ameliorated, and what with the difficulty of procuring more negroes—which can now only be done by purchasing them from other estates,—making it absolutely necessary for the managers to preserve the slaves, if they mean to preserve their own situations,—I am fully persuaded that instances of tyranny to negroes are now very rare, at least in this island. But I must still acknowledge, from my own sad experience, since my arrival, that unless a West Indian proprietor occasionally visits his estates himself, it is utterly impossible for him to be *certain* that his deputed authority is not abused, however good may be his intentions, and however vigilant his anxiety.

My father was one of the most humane and generous persons that ever existed; there was no indulgence which he ever denied his negroes, and his letters were filled with the most positive injunctions for their good treatment. When his estates became mine, the one upon which I am now residing was managed by an attorney, considerably advanced in years, who had been long in our employment, and bore the highest character for probity and humanity. He was both attorney and overseer;

and it was a particular recommendation to me that he lived in my own house, and therefore had my slaves so immediately under his eye, that it was impossible for any subaltern to misuse them without his knowledge. His letters to me expressed the greatest anxiety and attention respecting the welfare and comfort of the slaves;—so much so, indeed, that when I detailed his mode of management to Lord Holland, he observed, "that if he did all that was mentioned in his letters, he did as much as could possibly be expected or wished from an attorney;" and, on parting with his own, Lord Holland was induced to engage mine to manage his estates, which are in the immediate neighbourhood of Cornwall. This man died about two years ago, and since my arrival, I happened to hear that, during his management, a remarkably fine young penn-keeper, named Richard (the brother of my intelligent carpenter, John Fuller), had run away several times to the mountains. I had taken occasion to let the brothers know, between jest and earnest, that I was aware of Richard's misconduct; and at length, one morning, John, while he blamed his brother's running away, let fall, that he had some excuse in the extreme ill-usage which he had received from one of the book-keepers, who "had had a spite against him." The hint alarmed me; I followed it, and nothing could equal my anger and surprise at learning the whole truth.

It seemed, that while I fancied my attorney to be resident on Cornwall, he was, in fact, generally attending to a property of his own, or looking after estates of which also he had the management in distant parts of the island. During his absence, an overseer of his own appointing, without my knowledge, was left in absolute possession of his power, which he abused to such a degree, that almost every slave of respectability on the estate was compelled to become a runaway. The property was nearly ruined, and the slaves absolutely in a state of rebellion. At length he committed an act of such severity, that the negroes, one and all, fled to Savannah la Mar, and threw themselves upon the protection of the magistrates, who immediately came over to Cornwall and investigated the complaint; and *now*, at length, the attorney, who had known numerous instances of the overseer's tyranny, had frequently rebuked him for them, and had redressed the sufferers, but who still had dared to abuse my confidence so

grossly as to continue him in his situation, upon this public exposure thought proper to dismiss him. Yet, while all this was going on—while my negroes were groaning under the iron rod of this petty tyrant—and while the magistrate was obliged to interfere to protect them from his cruelty—my attorney had the insolence and falsehood to write me letters, filled with assurances of his perpetual vigilance for their welfare, and of their perfect good treatment and satisfaction; and, if I had not come myself to Jamaica, in all probability I should never have had the most distant idea how abominably the poor creatures had been ill-used.

I have made it my business to mix as much as possible among the negroes, and have given them every encouragement to repose confidence in me; and I have uniformly found all those, upon whom any reliance can be placed, unite in praising the humanity of their present superintendent. Instantly on his arrival he took the whole power of punishment into his own hands: he forbade the slightest interference in this respect of any person whatever on the estate, white or black; nor have I been able to find as yet any one negro who has any charge of harsh treatment to bring against him. However, having been already so grossly deceived, I will never again place implicit confidence in any person whatever in a matter of such importance. Before my departure, I shall take every possible measure that may prevent any misconduct taking place without my being apprised of it as soon as possible; and I have already exhorted my negroes to apply to the magistrates on the very first instance of ill-usage, should any occur during my absence.

I am indeed assured by every one about me, that to manage a West Indian estate without the occasional use of the cart-whip, however rarely, is impossible; and they insist upon it, that it is absurd in me to call my slaves ill-treated because, when they act grossly wrong, they are treated like English soldiers and sailors. All this may be very true; but there is something to me so shocking in the idea of this execrable cart-whip that I have positively forbidden the use of it on Cornwall; and, if the estate must go to rack and ruin without its use, to rack and ruin the estate must go. Probably I should care less about this punishment if I had not been living among those on whom it may be inflicted; but

now, when I am accustomed to see every face that looks upon me grinning from ear to ear with pleasure at my notice, and hear every voice cry "God bless you, massa!" as I pass, one must be an absolute brute not to feel unwilling to leave them subject to the lash. Besides, they are excellent cajolers. Nicholas and John Fuller came to me this morning to beg a favour, "and beg massa hard, quite hard!" It was, that when massa went away he would leave his picture for the negroes, "that they might talk to it, all just as they did to massa."

JANUARY 20.

THE RUNAWAY.

Peter, Peter was a black boy;
  Peter, him pull foot one day:
Buckra girl, him * Peter's joy;
  Lilly white girl entice him away.
Fye, Missy Sally, fye on you!
Poor Blacky Peter why undo?
Oh! Peter, Peter was a bad boy;
Peter was a runaway.

Peter, him Massa thief—Oh! fye
  Missy Sally, him say him do so.
Him money spent, Sally bid him bye,
  And from Peter away him go;
Fye, Missy Sally, fye on you!
Poor Blacky Peter what him do?
Oh! Peter, Peter was a sad boy;
Peter was a runaway!

Peter, him go to him Massa back;
  There him humbly own him crime:
"Massa, forgib one poor young Black!
  Oh! Massa, good Massa, forgib dis time!"—
Then in come him Missy so fine, so gay,
And to him Peter thus him say:
"Oh! Missy, good Missy, you for me pray!
Beg Massa forgib poor runaway!

"Missy, you cheeks so red, so white;
  Missy, you eyes like diamond shine!
Missy, you Massa's sole delight,
  And Lilly Sally, him was mine!

* The negroes never distinguish between "him" and "her" in their conversation.

Him say—' Come, Peter, mid me go ;'—
Could me refuse him? Could me say ' no ?'—
Poor Peter—' no ' him could no say !
So Peter, Peter, ran away ! "

Him Missy him pray ; him Massa so kind
Was moved by him prayer, and to Peter him say ;
" Well, boy, for this once I forgive you !—but mind !
With the buckra girls you no more go away !
Though fair without, they 're foul within ;
Their heart is black, though white their skin.
Then Peter, Peter, with me stay ;
Peter no more run away ! "

JANUARY 21. (*Sunday.*)

The hospital has been crowded, since my arrival, with patients who have nothing the matter with them. On Wednesday there were about thirty invalids, of whom only four were cases at all serious ; the rest had " a lilly pain here, massa," or " a bad pain me no know where, massa," and evidently only came to the hospital in order to sit idle and chat away the time with their friends. Four of them the doctor ordered into the field peremptorily : the next day there came into the sick-house six others ; upon this I resolved to try my own hand at curing them ; and I directed the head-driver to announce that the presents which I had brought from England should be distributed to-day, that the new-born children should be christened, and that the negroes might take possession of my house, and amuse themselves till twelve at night. The effect of my prescription was magical ; two-thirds of the sick were hale and hearty, at work in the field on Saturday morning, and to-day not a soul remained in the hospital except the four serious cases.

The christening took place about four o'clock. Sully's infant, which had been destined to perform a part on this occasion, had died in the hospital ; but this morning the father came to complain of his disappointment, and to beg leave to substitute a child by *another* wife, which had been born about two months before my arrival ; and as the father is a very serviceable fellow, and the mother, besides having brought up three children of her own, had the additional merit of having reared an infant whose own mother had died in child-bed, I broke through the rule of

only christening those myself who should be born since my coming to Jamaica, and granted his request. By good luck, the first child to be named was the offspring of Minerva and Captain; so I told the parents that as it would be highly proper to call the boy after the greatest Captain that the world could produce, he should be named Wellington; and that I hoped that he would grow up to serve *me* in Jamaica as well as the Duke of Wellington had served his massa, the King of England, in Europe. The Duke of Sully's child I wanted to call Navarre; but the father had brought over a free negro from Savannah la Mar to stand godfather, who was his *fidus Achates*, by name, John Davis; and I found that he had set his heart upon calling the boy John Lewis, after his friend and myself; so John Lewis he was.

There ought to have been a third child, born at seven months, whom the *graundee* had reared with great difficulty, and dismissed, quite strong, from the hospital; the mother had taken great care of it till the tenth day, when she was entitled to an allowance of clothes, provisions, &c.; but no sooner had she received her reward than, on that very night, she suffered the child to remain so long without food, while she went herself to dance on a neighbouring estate, that it was brought in an exhausted state back to the hospital; and, in spite of every care, it expired within four and twenty hours after its return.

The ceremony was performed with perfect gravity and propriety by all parties; I thought it as well to cut the reading part of it very short; but I read a couple of prayers, marked the foreheads of the children with the sign of the cross, and, instead of the concluding prayer, I substituted a wish "that God would bless the children, and make them live to be as good servants to me, as I prayed him to make me a kind massa to them:" upon which all present very gravely made me their lowest bows and courtesies, and then gave me a loud huzza; so unusual a mode of approbation at a christening that it had nearly overturned my seriousness; and I made haste to serve out Madeira to the parents and assistants, that they might drink the healths of the new Christians and of each other. The mothers and the *graundee* were then called up to the table, and the ladies who were in the family-way were arranged behind them.

Their title in Jamaica is rather coarse, but very expressive. I asked Cubina one day "Who was that woman with a basket on her head?" "Massa," he answered, "that one belly-woman going to sell provisions at the Bay." As she was going to sell *provisions*, I supposed that *belly*-woman was the name of her trade; but it afterwards appeared that she was one of those females who had given in their names as being in an interesting situation, and who, in consequence, were discharged from all severe labour. I then gave the *graundee* and the mothers a dollar each, and told them that for the future they might claim the same sum, in addition to their usual allowance of clothes and provisions, for every infant which should be brought to the overseer alive and well on the fourteenth day; and I also gave each mother a present of a scarlet girdle with a silver medal in the centre, telling her always to wear it on feasts and holidays, when it should entitle her to marks of peculiar respect and attention—such as being one of those first served, and receiving a larger portion than the rest; that the *first* fault which she might commit should be forgiven on the production of this girdle; and that when she should have any favour to ask, she should always put it round her waist, and be assured that, on seeing it, the overseer would allow the wearer to be entitled to particular indulgence. On every additional child, an additional medal is to be affixed to the belt, and precedence is to follow the greater number of medals. I expected that this notion of an order of honour would have been treated as completely fanciful and romantic; but, to my great surprise, my manager told me that "he never knew a dollar better bestowed than the one which formed the medal of the girdle, and that he thought the institution likely to have a very good effect."

Immediately after the christening the Eboe drums were produced, and, in defiance of Sunday, the negroes had the irreverence to be gay and happy, while the presents were being put in order for distribution. All the men got jackets, the women seven yards of stuff each for petticoats, &c., and the children as much printed cotton as would make a couple of frocks. The Creoles were delighted beyond measure when some of the African male negroes exclaimed, "Tank, massa," and made a low courtesy in the estimation of their gratitude. As they were all called

to receive their presents alphabetically in pairs, some of the combinations were very amusing. We had Punch and Plato, Priam and Pam, Hemp and Hercules, and Minerva and Moll, called together. By twelve they dispersed, and I went to bed, as usual on these occasions, with a violent headache.

JANUARY 22.

While I was at dinner a tremendous uproar was heard below stairs. On inquiry, it proved to be Cubina quarrelling with his niece Phillis (a good-looking black girl employed about the house), about a broken pitcher; and as her explanation did not appear satisfactory to him, he had thought proper to give her a few boxes on the ear. Upon hearing this, I read him such a lecture upon the baseness of a man's striking a woman, and told him with so much severity that his heart must be a bad one to commit such an offence, that poor Cubina, having never heard a harsh word from me before, scarcely knew whether he stood upon his head or his heels. When he afterwards brought my coffee he expressed his sorrow for having offended me, and begged my pardon in the most humble manner. I told him, that to obtain mine he must first obtain that of Phillis; and he immediately declared himself ready to make her any apology that I might dictate. So the girl was called in, and her uncle going up to her said, "I am very sorry, Phillis, that I gave way to high passion, and called you hard names, and struck you; which I ought not to have done while massa was in the house;" (here I was going to interrupt him, but he was too clever not to perceive his blunder, and made haste to add) "nor if he had *not* been here, nor at all; so I hope you will have the kindness to forgive me this once, and I never will strike you again, and so I beg your pardon." And he then put out his hand to her in the most frank and hearty matter imaginable; and, on her accepting it, made her three or four of his very lowest and most graceful bows. I furnished him with a piece of money to give her as a peace-offering: they left the room thoroughly reconciled, and in five minutes after they and the rest of the servants were all chattering, laughing, and singing together, in the most perfect harmony and good-humour. I suppose, if I had desired an upper servant in England to make the same submission, he would have

preferred quitting my service to doing what he would have called "humbling himself to an inferior;" or, if he had found himself compelled to give way, he would have been sulky with the girl, and found fault with everything that she did in the house for a twelvemonth after.

On the other hand, there are some choice ungrateful scoundrels among the negroes: on the night of their first dance, a couple of sheep disappeared from the pen, although they could not have been taken from want of food, as on that very morning there had been an ample distribution of fresh beef; and last night another sheep and a quantity of poultry followed them. Yesterday, too, a young rascal of a boy, called "massa Jackey," who is in the frequent habit of running away for months at a time, and whom I had distinguished from the cleverness of his countenance and buffoonery of his manners, came to beg my permission to go and purchase food with some money which I had just given him, "because he was almost starving; his parents were dead, he had no provision-grounds, no allowance, and nobody ever gave him anything." Upon this I sent Cubina with the boy to the storekeeper, when it appeared that he had always received a regular allowance of provisions twice a week, which he generally sold, as well as his clothes, at the Bay, for spirits; had received an additional portion only last Friday; and, into the bargain, during the whole of that week had been fed from the house. What he could propose to himself by telling a lie which must be so soon detected, I cannot conceive; but I am assured that, unless a negro has an interest in telling the truth, he always lies—in order to keep his tongue in practice.

One species of flattery (or of *Congo-saw*, as we call it here) amused me much this morning: an old woman who is in the hospital wanted to express her gratitude for some stewed fish which I had sent her for supper, and, instead of calling me "massa," she always said—"Tank him, *my husband*."

January 24.

This was a day of incessant occupation. I rose at six o'clock, and went down to the Bay to settle some business; on my return I visited the hospital while breakfast was being got ready; and as soon as it was over, I went down to the negro-houses to

hear the whole body of Eboes lodge a complaint against one of the book-keepers, and to appoint a day for their being heard in his presence. On my return to the house, I found two women belonging to a neighbouring estate, who came to complain of cruel treatment from their overseer, and to request me to inform their trustee how ill they had been used, and see their injuries redressed. They said, that having been ill in the hospital, and ordered to the field while they were still too weak to work, they had been flogged with much severity (though not beyond the limits of the law); and my head driver, who was less scrupulously delicate than myself as to ocular inspection of Juliet's person (which Juliet, to do her justice, was perfectly ready to submit to in proof of her assertions), told me that the woman had certainly suffered greatly; the other, whose name was Delia, was but just recovering from a miscarriage, and declared openly that the overseer's conduct had been such, that nothing should have prevented her running away long ago if she could but have had the heart to abandon a child which she had on the estate. Both were poor feeble-looking creatures, and seemed very unfit subjects for any severe correction. I promised to write to their trustee; and, as they were afraid of being punished on their return home for having thrown themselves on my protection, I wrote a note to the overseer, requesting that the women might remain quite unmolested till the trustee's arrival, which was daily expected; and, with this note and a present of cocoa-fingers and salt fish, Delia and Juliet departed, apparently much comforted.

They were succeeded by no less a personage than *Venus* herself—a poor little, sickly, timid soul, who had purchased her freedom from my father by substituting in her place a fine stout black wench, who, being Venus's *locum tenens*, was, by courtesy, called Venus too, though her right name was "Big Joan;" but, by some neglect of the then attorney, Venus had never received any title, and she now came to beg "massa so good as give paper;" otherwise she was still, to all intents and purposes, my slave, and I might still have compelled her to work, although, at the same time, her substitute was on the estate. Of course I promised the paper required, and engaged to act the part of a second Vulcan by releasing Venus from my chains: but the

paper was not the only thing that Venus wanted; she also wanted a petticoat! She told me that when the presents were distributed on Sunday, the petticoat, which she would otherwise have had, was, of course, "given to the *other* Venus;" and though, to be sure, she was free now, yet, "when she belonged to massa, she had always worked for him well," and "she was quite as glad to see massa as the other Venus," and, therefore, "ought to have quite as much petticoat." I tried to convince her, that for Venus to wear a petticoat of blue durant, or, indeed, any petticoat at all, would be quite unclassical: but the goddess of beauty stuck to her point, and finally carried off the petticoat.

Venus had scarcely evacuated the premises when her place was occupied by the minister of Savannah la Mar, with proposals for instructing the negroes in religion; and the minister, in his turn, was replaced by one of the Sunday-night thieves, who had been caught while in the actual possession of one of my sheep and a great turkey-cock; and, to make the matter worse, the depredator's name was Hercules! The demi-god had nothing to say in his excuse: he had just received a large allowance of beef:—therefore, hunger had no share in his transgression; and the committing the offence during the very time that I was giving the negroes a festival, rendered his ingratitude the more flagrant.

I perfectly well understood that the man was sent to me by my agent, in order to show the absolute necessity of sometimes employing the cart-whip, and to see whether I would suffer the fellow to escape unpunished. But, as this was the first offender who had been brought before me, I took that for a pretext to absolve him: so I lectured him for half an hour with great severity, swore that on the very next offence I would order him to be sold; and that, if he would not do his fair proportion of work without being lashed, he should be sent to work somewhere else; for I would suffer no such worthless fellows on my estate, and would not be at the expense of a cart-whip to correct him. Hercules promised most earnestly to behave better in future, and was suffered to depart: but I am told that no good can be expected of him; that he is perpetually running away; and that he had been absent for five weeks together before my arrival,

and only returned home upon hearing that there was a distribution of beef, rum, and jackets going forward; in return for all which he stole my sheep and my poor great turkey-cock.

JANUARY 25.

There was a great dinner and ball for the whole county given to-day at Montego Bay, to which I was invited; but I begged leave to decline this and all other invitations, being determined to give up my whole time to my negroes during my stay in Jamaica.

JANUARY 26.

Every morning my agent regales me with some fresh instance of insubordination: he says nothing plainly, but shakes his head, and evidently gives me to understand that the estate cannot be governed properly without the cart-whip. It seems that this morning the women, one and all, refused to carry away the *trash* (which is one of the easiest tasks that can be set), and that without the slightest pretence: in consequence the mill was obliged to be stopped; and when the driver on that station insisted on their doing their duty, a little fierce young devil of a Miss Whaunica flew at his throat, and endeavoured to strangle him: the agent was obliged to be called in, and, at length, this petticoat rebellion was subdued, and every thing went on as usual. I have, in consequence, assured the women that, since they will not be managed by fair treatment, I must have recourse to other measures; and that, if any similar instance of misconduct should take place, I was determined, on my return from Kingston, to sell the most refractory, ship myself immediately for England, and never return to them and Jamaica more. This threat, at the time, seemed to produce a great effect; all hands were clasped, and all voices were raised, imploring me not to leave them, and assuring me that in future they would do their work quietly and willingly. But whether the impression will last beyond the immediate moment is a point greatly to be doubted.

JANUARY 27.

Another morning with the mill stopped, no liquor in the boiling-house, and no work done. The driver brought the most

obstinate and insolent of the women to be lectured by me; and I bounced and stormed for half an hour with all my might and main, especially at Whaunica. They, at last, appeared to be very penitent and ashamed of themselves, and engaged never to behave ill again, if I would but forgive them this present fault; Whaunica, in particular, assuring me very earnestly, that I never should have cause to accuse her of "bad manners" again; for, in negro dialect, ingratitude is always called "bad manners." My agent declares that they never conducted themselves so ill before; that they worked cheerfully and properly till my arrival; but now they think that I shall protect them against all punishment, and have made regularly ten hogsheads of sugar a week less than they did before my coming upon the estate. This is the more provoking, as, by delaying the conclusion of the crop, the latter part of it may be driven into the rainy season, and then the labour is infinitely more severe both for the slaves and the cattle, and more detrimental to their health.

The minister of Savannah la Mar has shown me a plan for the religious instruction of the negroes, which was sent to him by the ecclesiastical commissaries at Kingston. It consisted but of two points: against the first (which recommended the slaves being *ordered* to go to church on a Sunday) I positively declared myself. Sunday is now the absolute property of the negroes for their relaxation, as Saturday is for the cultivation of their grounds; and I will not suffer a single hour of it to be taken from them for any purpose whatever. If my slaves choose to go to church on Sundays, so much the better; but not one of them shall be *ordered* to do one earthly thing on Sundays, but that which he chooses himself. The second article recommended occasional pastoral visits of the minister to the different estates; and in this respect I promised to give him every facility—although I greatly doubt any good effect being produced by a few short visits, at considerable intervals, on the minds of ignorant creatures, to whom no palpable and immediate benefit is offered. It appears, indeed, to me, that the only means of giving the negroes morality and religion must be through the medium of education, and their being induced to read such books in the minister's absence as may recall to their thoughts what they have heard from him; otherwise, he may talk for an hour, and they will

have understood but little—and remember nothing. There is not a single negro among my whole three hundred who can read a line; and what I suppose to be wanted on West Indian estates is not an importation of missionaries, but of schoolmasters on Dr. Bell's plan, if it could by any means be introduced here with effect. However, in the meanwhile I told the minister that I was perfectly well inclined to have every measure tried that might enlighten the minds of the negroes, provided it did not interfere with their own hours of leisure, and were not compulsory. I mentioned to him a plan for commencing his instructions under the most favourable auspices, of which he seemed to approve; and he has promised to make occasional visits on my estate during my absence, which may do good and can do no harm; and, even should it fail to make the negroes religious, will, at least, add another humane inspector to my list.

JANUARY 28. (*Sunday.*)

I shall have enough to do in Jamaica if I accept all the offices that are pressed upon me. A large body of negroes from a neighbouring estate came over to Cornwall this morning to complain of hard treatment, in various ways, from their overseer and drivers, and to request me to represent their injuries to their trustee here, and their proprietor in England. The charges were so strong, that I am certain that they must be fictitious; however, I listened to their story with patience; promised that the trustee (whom I was to see in a few days) should know their complaint, and they went away apparently satisfied. Then came a runaway negro who wanted to return home, and requested me to write a few lines to his master, to save him from the lash. He was succeeded by a poor creature named Bessie, who, although still a young woman, is exempt from labour, on account of her being afflicted with the *cocoa-bay*, one of the most horrible of negro diseases. It shows itself in large blotches and swellings, which generally moulder away, by degrees, the joints of the toes and fingers, till they rot and drop off; sometimes as much as half a foot will go at once. As the disease is communicable by contact, the person so afflicted is necessarily shunned by society; and this poor woman, who is married to John Fuller, one of the best young men on the estate, and by

whom she has had four children (although they are all dead), has for some time been obliged to live separated from him, lest he should be destroyed by contracting the same complaint. She now came to tell me that she wanted a blanket, "for that the cold killed her of nights," cold being that which negroes dislike most, and from which most of their illnesses arise. Of course she got her blanket; then she said that she wanted medicine for her complaint. "Had not the doctor seen her?" "Oh, yes! Dr. Goodwin; but the white doctor could do her no good. She wanted to go to a black doctor, named Ormond, who belonged to a neighbouring gentleman." I told her that if this black doctor understood her particular disease better than others, certainly she should go to him; but that if he pretended to cure her by charms or spells, or anything but medicine, I should desire his master to cure the black doctor by giving him the punishment proper for such an impostor. Upon this Bessie burst into tears, and said "That Ormond was not an Obeah man, and that she had suffered too much by Obeah men to wish to have any more to do with them. She had made Adam her enemy by betraying him, when he had attempted to poison the former attorney; he had then cursed her, and wished that she might never be hearty again; and from that very time her complaint had declared itself, and her poor pickaninies had all died away one after another; and she was sure that it was Adam who had done all this mischief by Obeah." Upon this I put myself in a great rage, and asked her "how she could believe that God would suffer a low wicked fellow like Adam to make good people die, merely because he wished them dead?" "She did not know; she knew nothing about God; had never heard of any such Being, nor of any other world." I told her that God was a great personage, "who lived up yonder above the blue, in a place full of pleasures and free from pains, where Adam and wicked people could not come; that her pickaninies were not dead for ever, but were only gone up to live with God, who was good, and would take care of them for her; and that if she were good, when she died she too would go up to God above the blue, and see all her four pickaninies again." The idea seemed so new and so agreeable to the poor creature, that she clapped her hands together, and began laughing for joy; so I said to her

everything that I could imagine likely to remove her prejudice: told her that I should make it a crime even so much as to mention the word Obeah on the estate; and that if any negro from that time forward should be proved to have accused another of Obeahing him, or of telling another that he had been Obeahed, he should forfeit his share of the next present of salt fish which I meant soon to distribute among the slaves, and should never receive any favour from me in future; so I gave Bessie a piece of money, and she seemed to go away in better spirits than she came.

This Adam of whom she complained is a most dangerous fellow; he has been long suspected of being connected with Obeah men, and is the terror of all his companions, with whom he lives in a constant state of warfare. He is a creole, born on my own property, and has several sisters, who have obtained their freedom, and are in every respect creditable and praiseworthy; and to one of them I consider myself particularly indebted, as she was the means of saving poor Richard's life when the tyranny of the overseer had brought him almost to the brink of the grave. But this brother is in everything the very reverse of his sisters. There is no doubt of his having (as Bessie stated) infused poison into the water-jars through spite against the late superintendent. It was in this fellow's hut that the old Obeah man was found concealed, whom my attorney seized and transported last year. He is, unfortunately, clever and plausible; and I am told that the mischief which he has already done, by working upon the folly and superstition of his fellows, is incalculable; yet I cannot get rid of him; the law will not suffer any negro to be shipped off the island until he shall have been convicted of felony at the sessions. I cannot sell him, for nobody would buy him, nor even accept him, if I would offer them so dangerous a present. If he were to go away the law would seize him and bring him back to me, and I should be obliged to pay heavily for his re-taking and his maintenance in the workhouse. In short, I know not what I can do with him.

There are certainly many excellent qualities in the negro character; their worst faults appear to be this prejudice respecting Obeah, and the facility with which they are frequently induced to poison to the right hand and to the left. A neighbouring

gentleman, as I hear, has now three negroes in prison (all domestics, and one of them grown grey in his service) for poisoning him with corrosive sublimate; his brother was actually killed by similar means; yet I am assured that both of them were reckoned men of great humanity. Another agent, who appears to be in high favour with the negroes whom he now governs, was obliged to quit an estate, from the frequent attempts to poison him; and a person against whom there is no sort of charge alleged for tyranny, after being brought to the doors of death by a cup of coffee, only escaped a second time by his civility in giving the beverage prepared for himself to two young book-keepers, to both of whom it proved fatal. It indeed came out afterwards, that this crime was also effected by the abominable belief in Obeah: the woman who mixed the draught had no idea of its being poison; but she had received the deleterious ingredients from an Obeah man, as "a charm to make her massa good to her:" by which the negroes mean, the compelling a person to give another everything for which that other may ask him.

Next to this vile trick of poisoning people (arising, doubtless, in a great measure from their total want of religion and their ignorance of a future state, which makes them dread no punishment hereafter for themselves, and look with but little respect on human life in others), the greatest drawback upon one's comfort in a Jamaica existence seems to me to be the being obliged to live perpetually in public. Certainly, if a man was desirous of leading a life of vice *here*, he must have set himself totally above shame, for he may depend upon everything done by him being seen and known. The houses are absolutely transparent: the walls are nothing but windows, and all the doors stand wide open. No servants are in waiting to announce arrivals: visitors, negroes, dogs, cats, poultry, all walk in and out, and up and down your rooms, without the slightest ceremony.

JANUARY 29.

I find that Bessie's black doctor is really nothing more than a professor of medicine as to this particular disease; and I have ordered her to be sent to him in the mountains immediately.

Several gentlemen of the county dined with me to-day. We

had at dinner a land-tortoise and a barbecued pig, two of the best and richest dishes that I ever tasted, the latter, in particular; it was dressed in the true maroon fashion, being placed on a barbecue (a frame of wicker-work, through whose interstices the steam can ascend), filled with peppers and spices of the highest flavour, wrapped in plantain leaves, and then buried in a hole filled with hot stones, by whose vapour it is baked, no particle of the juice being thus suffered to evaporate. I have eaten several other good Jamaica dishes, but none so excellent as this, a large portion of which was transferred to the most infirm patients in the hospital. Perhaps an English physician would have felt every hair of his wig bristle upon his head with astonishment at hearing me this morning ask a woman in a fever, how her bark and her barbecued pig had agreed with her. But with negroes, I find that feeding the sick upon stewed fish and pork, highly seasoned, produces the very best effects possible.

Some of the fruits here are excellent, such as shaddocks, oranges, granadilloes, forbidden fruit; and one between an orange and a lemon, called "the grape or cluster-fruit," appears to me quite delicious. For the vegetables I cannot say so much: yams, plantains, cocoa-poyers, yam-poys, bananas, &c., look and taste all so much alike, that I scarcely know one from the other: they are all something between bread and potatoes, not so good as either, and I am quite tired of them all. The Lima bean is said to be more like a pea than a bean; but whatever it be like, it appeared to me very indifferent. As to the peas themselves, nothing can be worse. The achie fruit is a kind of vegetable, which generally is fried in butter; many people, I am told, are fond of it, but I could find no merit in it. The palm-tree (or abba, as it is called here) produces a long scarlet or reddish brown cone, which separates into beads, each of which contains a roasting-nut surrounded by a kind of stringy husk, which being boiled in salt and water, upon being chewed has a taste of artichoke, but the consistence is very disagreeable. The only native vegetable which I like much is the ochra, which tastes like asparagus, though not with quite so delicate a flavour.

As to fish, the variety is endless; but I think it rather consists in variety of names than of flavour. From this, however, I must except the silk-fish and mud-fish, and above all, the moun-

tain-mullet, which is almost the best fish I ever tasted. All the shell-fish that I have met with as yet have been excellent; oysters have not come in my way, but I am told that they are not only poor and insipid, but frequently are so poisonous that I had better not venture upon them; and so ends this chapter of the "Almanach des Gourmands" for Jamaica.

JANUARY 30.

There were above twenty ladies literally at my feet this morning. I went down to the negro-village to speak to Bessie about going to her black doctor; and all the refractory females of last week, hearing of my being there, came in a body to promise better conduct for the future, and implore me not to go away. The sight of my carriage getting ready to take me to Kingston, and the arrival of post-horses, had alarmed them with the idea that I was really going to put into execution my threats of leaving them for ever. They had artfully enough prevailed on the wife of Clifford (the driver whom Whaunica had collared) to be their spokeswoman; and they begged, and lifted up their folded hands, and cried, and fell on the ground, and kissed my feet—and, in short, acted their part so well, that they almost made me act mine to perfection, and fall to blubbering. I told them that I certainly should go to Kingston on Thursday; but if I had good accounts of them during my absence, I should return in a few days; if, on the contrary, the idle negroes continued to refuse to work without compulsion, then, in justice to the good ones (who last week were obliged to do more than their share), those punishments which I had stopped must be resumed; but that as Cornwall would be insupportable to me if I could not live there without hearing the crack of the abominable cart-whip all day long, I would not return to it, but ship myself off for England, and never visit them or Jamaica any more. And then I talked very sternly and positively about "punishments," and "making bad negroes do their work properly;" and every third word was the cart-whip, till I almost fancied myself the princess in the "Fairy Tale," who never opened her mouth but out came two toads and three couple of serpents. However, to sweeten my oration a little at the end, I told them that, "having inquired closely into the characters of the present book-keepers, I had

found no charge against any of them except one, who was accused of having occasionally struck a negro, of using bad language to them, and of being a hasty passionate man, though in other respects very serviceable to the estate. But although these faults were but trifling, and some of them not proved, so determined was I to show that I would suffer no white person on the estate who maltreated the negroes either by word or deed, that I had determined to make an example of him for the warning of the rest; and accordingly had dismissed him this morning."

This book-keeper, by his own account, had made himself obnoxious to them, and on hearing of his discharge they one and all sprawled upon the ground in a rapture of joy and gratitude.

The man had denied positively the charge of striking the negroes, and ascribed it to the revenge of the Eboe Edward, whom he had detected in cutting out part of a boiling-house window, in order that he might pass out stolen sugar unperceived—for, to do the negroes justice, it is a doubt whether they are the greatest thieves or liars, and the quantity of sugar which they purloin during the crop, and dispose of at the Bay for a mere trifle, is enormous. However, whether the charge of striking was true or not, it was sufficiently proved that this book-keeper was a passionate man, and he said himself "that the negroes had conceived a spite against him," which alone were reasons enough for removing him. Indeed, I had the less unwillingness to do this, because from the slight nature of his offence it will be easy for him to find another situation; and I have besides desired him to stay out his quarter on the estate, and he is to receive a double salary on going away, which will free him from any charge of having been dismissed disgracefully.

FEBRUARY 1. (*Thursday.*)

I left Cornwall for Spanish Town at six in the morning, accompanied by a young naval officer, the son of my next neighbour, Mr. Hill, of Amity, who was good enough not only to lend me a kittereen with a canopy to perform my journey in, but to send his son to be my *cicerone* on my tour. The road wound through mountain-passes, or else on a shelf of rock so narrow—though without the slightest danger—that one of the wheels was frequently in the sea, while the other side was fenced by a line

of bold broken cliffs, clothed with trees completely from their brows down to the very edge of the water. Between eight and nine we reached a solitary tavern called Blue-fields, where the horses rested for a couple of hours. It had a very pretty garden on the sea-shore, which contained a picturesque cottage, exactly resembling an ornamental hermitage; and leaning against one of the pillars of its porch we found a young girl, who exactly answered George Colman's description of Yarico, "quite brown, but extremely genteel, like a Wedgewood teapot." She told us that she was a Spanish creole who had fled with her mother from the disputes between the royalists and independents in the island of Old Providence; and the owner of the tavern being a relation of her mother, he had permitted them to establish themselves in his garden-cottage till the troubles of their own country should be over. She talked perfectly good English, and said that there were many of that nation established in Providence. Her name was Antonietta. Her figure was light and elegant; her black eyes mild and bright; her countenance intelligent and good-humoured; and her teeth beautiful to perfection; altogether, Antonietta was by far the handsomest creole that I have ever seen.

From Blue-fields we proceeded at once to Lakovia (a small village), a stage of thirty miles. Here we found a relay of horses, which conveyed us by seven o'clock to "the Gutturs," a house belonging to the proprietor of the post-horses, and situated at the very foot of the tremendous May-day Mountains. The house is an excellent one, and we found good beds, eatables, and, in short, everything that travellers could wish. The distance from Lakovia to "the Gutturs" is sixteen miles.

February 2.

Yesterday the only very striking point of view (although the whole of the road was picturesque) was "the Cove," situated between Blue-fields and Lakovia; but our journey to-day was a succession of beautiful scenes from beginning to end. Instantly on leaving "the Gutturs," we began to ascend the May-day mountains, and it was not till after travelling for five and twenty miles that we found ourselves at the foot of them on the other side, at a place called Williamsfield. To be sure, the road was so rough that it was enough to make one envy the Mahometan

women, who, having no souls at all, could not possibly have them jolted out of their bodies; but the beauty of the scenery amply rewarded us for our bruised sides and battered backs. The road was for the most part bounded by lofty rocks on one side, and a deep precipice on the other, and bordered with a profusion of noble trees and flowering shrubs in great variety. In particular, I was struck with the picturesque appearance of some wild fig-trees of singular size and beauty. Although there were only two of us besides servants, we found it necessary to employ seven horses and a couple of mules; and as our cavalcade wound along through the mountains, the Spanish look of our sumpter-mules and of our kittereens (which are precisely the vehicle in which Gil Blas is always represented when travelling with Scipio towards Lirias) gave us quite the appearance of a caravan; nor should I have been greatly surprised to see a trap-door open in the middle of the road, and Captain Rolando's whiskers make their appearance. Every one spoke to me with contempt of this south road in respect of beauty, when compared with the north; however, it certainly seemed to me more beautiful than any road which I had ever travelled.

February 3.

A stage of twenty miles brought us to Old Harbour, and, passing through the Dry River, twelve more landed us at Spanish Town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, and the seat of government in Jamaica, although Kingston is much larger and more populous, and must be considered as the principal town. We found very clean and comfortable lodgings at Miss Cole's. Spanish Town has nothing to recommend it: the houses are mostly built of wood; the streets are very irregular and narrow; every alternate building is in a ruinous state, and the whole place wears an air of gloom and melancholy. The Government House is a large clumsy-looking brick building with a portico, the stucco of which has suffered by the weather, and it can advance no pretensions to architectural beauty. On one side of the square in which it stands there is a small temple protecting a statue of Lord Rodney, executed by Bacon: some of the bas-reliefs on the pedestal appeared to me very good; but the old admiral is most absurdly dressed in the habit of a Roman general, and furbished

out with buskins and a truncheon. The temple itself is quite in opposition to good taste, with very low arches, surmounted by heavy bas-reliefs out of all proportion.

FEBRUARY 4. (*Sunday.*)

We breakfasted with the chief justice, who is my relation, and of my own name, and then went to the church, which is a very handsome one; the walls lined with fine mahogany, and ornamented with many monuments of white marble, in memory of the former governors and other principal inhabitants. It seems that my ancestors on both sides have always had a taste for being well lodged after their decease; for on admiring one of these tombs, it proved to be that of my maternal grandfather; but still this was not to be compared for a moment with my mausoleum at Cornwall. After church I went home with the rector, who is one of the ecclesiastical commissaries, and had a long conversation with him respecting a plan which is in agitation for giving the negroes something of a religious education. We afterwards dined with the member for Westmoreland; and as everybody in Jamaica is on foot by six in the morning, at ten in the evening we were quite ready to go to bed.

FEBRUARY 5.

The chief justice went with me to Kingston, where I had appointed the agent for my other estate in St. Thomas's-in-the-East to meet me. The short time allotted for my stay in the island makes it impossible to attend properly both to this estate and to Cornwall at this first visit, and therefore I determined to confine my attention to the negroes on the latter estate till my return to Jamaica. I now contented myself by impressing on the mind of my agent (who I am certain is a most humane and intelligent man), my extreme anxiety for the abolition of the cart-whip; and I had the satisfaction of hearing from him, that for a long time it had never been used more than perhaps twice in the year, and then only very slightly, and for some offence so flagrant that it was impossible, to pass it over; and he assured me that whenever I visit Hordley I may depend upon its not being employed at all. On the other hand, I am told that a gentleman of the parish of Vere, who came over to Jamaica for the sole

purpose of ameliorating the condition of his negroes, after abolishing the cart-whip, has at length been constrained to resume the occasional use of it because he found it utterly impossible to keep them in any sort of subordination without it.

There is not here that air of melancholy which pervades Spanish Town, but the place has no pretensions to beauty; and if any person will imagine a large town entirely composed of booths at a race-course, and the streets merely roads, without any sort of paving, he will have a perfect idea of Kingston.

FEBRUARY 6.

The Jamaica canoes are hollowed cotton-trees. We embarked in one of them at six in the morning, and visited the ruins of Port Royal, which, last year, was destroyed by fire. Some of the houses were rebuilding; but it was a melancholy sight, not only from the look of the half-burnt buildings, but the dejected countenances of the ruined inhabitants. I returned to breakfast with the rector and two other ecclesiastical commissaries; had more conversation about their proposed plan, and became still more convinced of the difficulty of doing anything effectual without danger to the island and to the negroes themselves, and of the extreme delicacy requisite in whatever may be attempted. We afterwards visited the school of the children of the poor, who are educating upon Dr. Bell's system; and then saw the church, a very large and handsome one on the inside, but mean enough as to its exterior. I was shown the tombstone of Admiral Benbow, who was killed in a naval engagement, and whose ship afterwards

> "Bore down to Port Royal, where the people flocked very much
> To see brave Admiral Benbow laid in Kingston Town Church,"

as the admiral's Homer informs us.

The church is a large one, but it is going to be still further extended; the negroes in Kingston and its neighbourhood being (as the rector assured me) so anxious to obtain religious instruction, that on Sundays not only the church but the churchyard is so completely thronged with them as to make it difficult to traverse the crowd; and those who are fortunate enough to obtain seats for the morning service never stir out of the church during the whole day, through fear of being excluded from that

of the evening. They also flock to be baptized in great numbers, and many have lately come to be married; and their burials and christenings are performed with great pomp and solemnity.

One of the most intelligent of the negroes with whom I have yet conversed, was the coxswain of my Port Royal canoe. I asked him whether he had been christened? He answered, no; he did not yet think himself good enough, but he hoped to be so in time. Nor was he married; for he was still young, and afraid that he could not break off his bad habits, and be contented to live with no other woman than his wife; and so he thought it better not to become a Christian till he could feel certain of performing the duties of one. However, he said, he had at least cured himself of one bad custom, and never worked upon Sundays, except on some very urgent necessity. I asked what he did on Sundays, instead: did he go to church?—No. Or employ himself in learning to read?—Oh, no: though he thought being able to read *was a great virtue* (which was his constant expression for anything right, pleasant, or profitable); but he had no leisure to learn on week-days; and, as he had heard the parson say that Sunday ought to be a day of rest, he made a point of doing nothing at all on that day. He praised his former master, of whose son he was now the property; and said that neither of them had ever occasion to lay a finger on him. He worked as a waterman, and paid his master ten shillings a-week, the rest of his earnings being his own profit; and when he owed wages for three months, if he brought two his master would always give him time for the remainder, and that in so kind a manner that he always fretted himself to think that so kind a master should wait for his rights, and worked twice as hard till the debt was discharged. He said that kindness was the only way to make good negroes; and that, if *that* failed, flogging would never succeed: and he advised me, when I found a negro worthless, "to sell him at once, and not stay to flog him, and so, by spoiling his appearance, make him sell for less; for blacks must not be treated now, massa, as they used to be; they can think, and hear, and see, as well as white people: blacks are wiser, massa, than they were, and will soon be still wiser." I thought the fellow himself was a good proof of his assertion.

I left Kingston at two o'clock, in defiance of a broiling sun; reached Spanish Town in time to dine with the Attorney-General, and went afterwards to the play, where I found my acquaintance Mr. Hill, of Covent Garden Theatre. The theatre is neat enough; as to the performance, it was about equal to any provincial theatricals that I ever saw in England; although the pieces represented were by no means well selected, being entirely musical, and the orchestra consisting of nothing more than a couple of fiddles.

February 7.

We were to return by the North Road, and set out at six in the morning. The first stage was to the West Tavern, nineteen miles; and nothing can be imagined more sublime or more beautiful than the scenery. Our road lay along the banks of the Rio Cobre, which runs up to Spanish Town, where its floods frequently commit dreadful ravages. Large masses of rock intercept its current at small intervals, which, as well as its shallowness, render it unnavigable. The cliffs and trees are of the most gigantic size; and the road goes so near the brink of a tremendous precipice that we were obliged always to send a servant forwards to warn any other carriage of our approach, in order that it might stay in some broader part while we passed it. A bridge had been attempted to be built over the river, but a storm demolished it before its completion, and nothing was now left standing but a single enormous arch. In like manner, the "Dry River" sets all bridges at defiance: when we crossed it, between Old Harbour and Spanish Town, it was nothing but a waste of sand; but its floods frequently pour down with irresistible strength and rapidity, and sometimes render it impassable for weeks together. I was extremely delighted with the first ten miles of this stage: unluckily, a mist then arose, so thick that it was utterly impossible even to guess at the surrounding scenery, and the morning was so cold that I was very glad to wrap myself up in my cloak as closely as if I had been travelling in an English December.

By the time of our leaving the West Tavern the mist had dispersed, and I was able to admire the extraordinary beauty of Mount Diavolo, which we were then crossing. Though we had

left the river, the road was still a narrow shelf of rock running along the edge of ravines of great depth, and filled with broken masses of stone and trees of wonderful magnitude. At intervals we emerged for a time into places resembling ornamental parks in England, the lawns being of the liveliest verdure, the ground rising and falling in an endless variety, and enriched with a profusion of trees, majestic in stature and picturesque in their shapes, many of them entirely covered with the beautiful flowers of "hogsmeat," and other creeping plants. The logwood, too, is now perfectly golden with its full bloom, and perfumes all the air; and nothing can be more gay than the quantity of wild flowers which catch the eye on all sides, particularly the wild pine and the wild ipecacuanha. We travelled for sixteen miles, which brought us to our harbour for the night—a solitary tavern, called Blackheath, situated in the heart of the mountains of St. Anne.

FEBRUARY 8.

The road soon brought us down to the very brink of the sea, which we continued to skirt during the whole of the stage; and then to St. Anne's Bay, where we found an excellent breakfast, at an inn, quite in the English fashion, for the landlady had been long resident in Great Britain. Everything was clean and comfortable, and the windows looked full upon the sea. Our road still lay by the sea-side till we began to ascend the mountain of Rio Bueno; from which we at length perceived the river itself running into the sea. It was at Porto Bueno that Columbus is said to have made his first landing on the island. Rio Bueno is a small town, with a fort, situated close to the sea. Here also we found a very good inn, kept by a Scotchman.

The landlady was a pretty brown girl, by name Eliza Thompson. She told me that she was only residing with her parents during her *husband's* absence; for she was (it seems) the *soi-disant* wife of an English merchant in Kingston, and had a house on Tachy's Bridge. This kind of establishment is the highest object of the *brown* females of Jamaica; they seldom marry men of their own colour, but lay themselves out to captivate some white person, who takes them for mistresses, under the appellation of housekeepers.

Soon after my arrival at Cornwall, I asked my attorney whether a clever-looking brown woman, who seemed to have great authority in the house, belonged to me?—No; she was a free woman. Was she in my service, then?—No; she was not in my service. I began to grow impatient.—"But what *does* she do at Cornwall? Of what use is she in the house?"—"Why, sir, as to use..... of no great use, sir:" and then, after a pause, he added in a lower voice, "It is the custom, sir, in this country for unmarried men to have housekeepers, and Nancy is mine." But he was unjust in saying that Nancy is of no use on the estate; for she is perpetually in the hospital, nurses the children, can bleed and mix up medicines, and (as I am assured) is of more service to the sick than all the doctors. These brown housekeepers generally attach themselves so sincerely to the interests of their protectors, and make themselves so useful, that they commonly retain their situation; and their children (if slaves) are always honoured by their fellows with the title of Miss. My mulatto housemaid is always called "Miss Polly" by her fellow-servant Phillis. This kind of connexion is considered by a brown girl in the same light as marriage. She will tell you, with an air of vanity, "I am Mr. Such-a-one's *Love!*" and always speaks of him as being her *husband:* and I am told that, except on these terms, it is extremely difficult to obtain the favours of a woman of colour.

February 9.

A stage of eighteen miles brought us to the town of Falmouth, which I understand to be in size the second in the island.

We proceeded, for twenty-two miles, to Montego Bay, where I once more found myself under the protecting roof of Miss Judy James.

On our return from dinner at Mr. Dewer's we discovered a ball of brown ladies and gentlemen opposite to the inn. No whites nor blacks were permitted to attend this assembly; but, as our landlady had two nieces there, under her auspices we were allowed to be spectators. The females chiefly consisted of the natural daughters of attorneys and overseers, and the young men were mostly clerks and book-keepers. I saw nothing at all to be compared, either for form or feature, to many of the humbler

people of colour, much less to the beautiful Spaniard at Blue-fields. Long, or Bryan Edwards, asserts that mulattoes never breed except with a black or white; but at this ball two girls were pointed out to me, the daughters of mulatto parents; and I have been assured that the assertion was a mistake, arising from such a connexion being very rarely formed; the females generally preferring to live with white men, and the brown men having thus no other resource than black women. As to the above girls, the fact is certain; and the different shades of colour are distinguished by too plain a line to allow any suspicion of infidelity on the part of their parents.

FEBRUARY 11. (*Sunday.*)

I reached Cornwall about three o'clock, after an excursion the most amusing and agreeable that I ever made in my life. Almost every step of the road presented some new and striking scene; and although we travelled at all hours, and with as little circumspection as if we had been in England, I never felt a headache except for one half-hour. On my arrival, I found the satisfactory intelligence usually communicated to West Indian proprietors. My estate in the west is burnt up for want of moisture; and my estate in the east has been so completely flooded, that I have lost a third of my crop. At Cornwall not a drop of rain has fallen since the 16th of November. Not a vestige of verdure is to be seen; and we begin to apprehend a famine among the negroes in consequence of the drought destroying their provision-grounds. This alone is wanting to complete the dangerous state of the island; where the higher classes are all in the utmost alarm at rumours of Wilberforce's intentions to set the negroes entirely free; the next step to which would be, in all probability, a general massacre of the whites, and a second edition of the horrors of St. Domingo: while, on the other hand, the negroes are impatient at the delay; and such disturbances arose in St. Thomas's-in-the-East, last Christmas, as required the interposition of the magistrates. They say that the negroes of that parish had taken it into their heads that *the Regent and Wilberforce* had actually determined upon setting them all at liberty at once on the first day of the present year, but that the interference of the island had defeated the plan.

Their discontent was most carefully and artfully fomented by some brown Methodists, who held secret and nightly meetings on the different estates, and did their best to mislead and bewilder these poor creatures with their fantastic and absurd preaching. These fellows harp upon sin, and the devil, and hell-fire incessantly, and describe the Almighty and the Saviour as beings so terrible, that many of their proselytes cannot hear the name of Christ without shuddering. One poor negro, on one of my own estates, told the overseer that he knew himself to be so great a sinner that nothing could save him from the devil's clutches, even for a few hours, except singing hymns; and he kept singing so incessantly day and night, that at length terror and want of sleep turned his brain, and the poor wretch died raving mad.

FEBRUARY 12.

A Sir Charles Price, who had an estate in this island infested by rats, imported, with much trouble, a very large and strong species for the purpose of extirpating the others. The new-comers answered his purpose to a miracle; they attacked the native rats with such spirit, that in a short time they had the whole property to themselves; but no sooner had they done their duty upon the rats, than they extended their exertions to the cats, of whom their strength and size at length enabled them completely to get the better; and since that last victory, Sir Charles Price's rats, as they are called, have increased so prodigiously, that this single species is now a greater nuisance to the island than all the others before them were together. The best mode of destroying rats here is with terriers. Those imported from England soon grow useless, being blinded by the sun; but their puppies, born in Jamaica, are provided by nature with a protecting film over their eyes, which effectually secures them against that calamity.

FEBRUARY 12.

Poor Philippa, the woman who used always to call me her "husband," and whom I left sick in the hospital, during my absence has gone out of her senses; and there cannot well happen anything more distressing, as there is no separate place for

her confinement, and her ravings disturb the other invalids. There is, indeed, no kind of bedlam in the whole island of Jamaica: whether this proceeds from people being so very sedate and sensible, that they never go mad, or from their all being so mad, that no one person has a right to shut up another for being out of his senses, is a point which I will not pretend to decide. One of my domestic negroes, a boy of sixteen, named Prince, was abandoned by his worthless mother in infancy, and reared by this Philippa; and since her illness he passes every moment of his leisure in her sick-room. On the other hand, there is a woman named Christian, attending two fevered children in the hospital; one her own, and the other an adopted infant, whom she reared upon the death of its mother in child-birth; and there she sits, throwing her eyes from one to the other with such unceasing solicitude, that no one could discover which was her own child and which the orphan.

February 13.

Two Jamaica nightingales have established themselves on the orange-tree which grows against my window, and their song is most beautiful. This bird is also called "the mocking-bird," from its facility of imitating, not only the notes of every other animal, but—I am told—of catching every tune that may be played or sung two or three times in the house near which it resides, after which it will go through the air with the greatest taste and precision, throwing in cadences and ornaments that Catalani herself might envy.

But by far the most curious animal that I have yet seen in Jamaica is "the soldier," a species of crab, which inhabits a shell like a snail's, so small in proportion to its limbs, that nothing can be more curious or admirable than the machinery by which it is enabled to fold them up instantly on the slightest alarm. They inhabit the mountains, but regularly once a-year travel in large troops down to the sea-side to spawn and change their shells. They are seldom used in Jamaica except for soups, which are reckoned delicious: that which was brought to me was a very small one, the shell being no bigger than a large snail's, although the animal itself, when marching with his house on his back, appears to be above thrice the size; but I am told

hat they are frequently as large as a man's fist. It was found alone in the public road: how it came to be in so solitary a state, I know not, for in general they move in armies, and march towards the sea in a straight line; I am afraid, by his being found alone, that my soldier must have been a deserter.

FEBRUARY 14.

To-day there was a shower of rain for the first time since my arrival; indeed, not a drop has fallen since the 16th of November; and in consequence my present crop has suffered terribly, and our expectations for next season are still worse.

FEBRUARY 18. (*Sunday.*)

The rain has brought forth the fire-flies, and in the evening the hedges are all brilliant with them. In the day they seem to be torpid beetles of a dull reddish colour, but at night they become of a shining purple. The fire proceeds from two small spots in the back part of the head. It is yellow in the light, and requires motion to throw out its radiance in perfection; but as soon as it is touched, the fly struggles violently, and bends itself together with a clicking noise like the snap of a spring; and I understand that this effort is necessary to set it in motion. It is sufficiently strong to turn itself upwards with a single movement, if lying on its back. When confined in a glass, the light seems almost extinguished; nothing can be discerned but two pale yellow spots; but on being pressed by the hand it becomes more brilliant than any emerald, and when on the wing it seems entirely composed of the most beautifully coloured fire.

FEBRUARY 20.

I attended the Slave Court, where a negro was tried for sheep-stealing, and a black servant-girl for attempting to poison her master. The former was sentenced to be transported. The latter was a girl of fifteen, called Minetta: she acknowledged the having infused corrosive sublimate in some brandy-and-water; but asserted that she had taken it from the medicine-chest without knowing it to be poison, and had given it to her master at her grandmother's desire. This account was evidently a fabrication: there was no doubt of the grandmother's innocence,

although some suspicion attached to the mother's influence; but as to the girl herself, nothing could be more hardened than her conduct through the whole transaction. She stood by the bed to see her master drink the poison; witnessed his agonies without one expression of surprise or pity; and when she was ordered to leave the room, she pretended to be fast asleep, and not to hear what was said to her. Even since her imprisonment, she could never be prevailed upon to say that she was sorry for her master's having been poisoned; and she told the people in the jail, that "they could do nothing to her, for she had turned king's evidence against her grandmother." She was condemned to die on Thursday next, the day after to-morrow: she heard the sentence pronounced without the least emotion; and I am told that, when she went down the steps of the court-house, she was seen to laugh.

The trial appeared to be conducted with all possible justice and propriety; the jury consisted of nine respectable persons; the bench of three magistrates, and a senior one to preside. There were no lawyers employed on either side; consequently no appeals to the passions, no false lights thrown out, no traps, no flaws, no quibbles, no artful cross-examinings, and no browbeating of witnesses; and I cannot say that the trial appeared to me to go on at all the worse. Nobody appeared to be either for or against the prisoner; the only object of all present was evidently to come at the truth, and I sincerely believe that they obtained their object. The only part of the trial of which I disapproved was the ordering the culprit to such immediate execution, that sufficient time was not allowed for the exercise of the royal prerogative, should the governor have been disposed to commute the punishment for that of transportation.

February 21.

There are so many pleasing and amusing parts of the character of negroes, that it seems to me scarcely possible not to like them. But when they are once disposed to evil, they seem to set no bounds to the indulgence of their bad passions. A poor girl came into the hospital to-day, who had had some trifling dispute with two of her companions; on which the two friends seized her together, and each fixing her teeth on one of the girl's

hands, bit her so severely, that we greatly fear her losing the use of both of them. I happened also to ask, this morning, to whom a skull had belonged, which I had observed fixed on a pole by the road-side, when returning last from Montego Bay. I was told, that about five years ago a Mr. Dunbar had given some discontent to his negroes in the article of clothing them, although, in other respects, he was by no means a severe master. However, this was sufficient to induce his head driver, who had been brought up in his own house from infancy, to form a plot among his slaves to assassinate him; and he was assisted in this laudable design by two young men from a neighbouring property, who barely knew Mr. Dunbar by sight, had no enmity against him whatever, and only joined in the conspiracy in compliment to their worthy friend the driver. During several months a variety of attempts were made for effecting their purpose; but accident defeated them; till at length they were made certain of his intention to dine out at some distance, and of his being absolutely obliged to return in the evening. An ambuscade was therefore laid to intercept him; and on his passing a clump of trees, the assassins sprang upon him, the driver knocked him from his horse, and in a few moments their clubs despatched him. No one suspected the driver; but in the course of inquiry, his house as well as the other was searched, and not only Mr. Dunbar's watch was found concealed there, but with it one of his ears, which the villain had carried away, from a negro belief that, as long as the murderer possesses one of the ears of his victim, he will never be haunted by his spectre. The stranger-youths, two of Dunbar's negroes, and the driver were tried, confessed the crime, and were all executed; the head of the latter being fixed upon a pole *in terrorem*. But while the offenders were still in prison, the overseer upon a neighbouring property had occasion to find fault in the field with a woman belonging to a gang hired to perform some particular work; upon which she flew upon him with the greatest fury, grasped him by the throat, cried to her fellows—"Come here! come here! Let us Dunbar him!" and through her strength and the suddenness of her attack had nearly accomplished her purpose, before his own slaves could come to his assistance. This woman was also executed.

This happened about five years ago, when the mountains were

in a very rebellious state. Everything there is at present quiet. But only last year a book-keeper belonging to the next estate to me was found with his skull fractured in one of my own cane-pieces; nor have any inquiries been able to discover the murderer.

February 22.

During many years the Moravians have been established upon the neighbouring estate of Mesopotamia. As the ecclesiastical commissaries had said so much to me respecting the great appetite of the negroes for religious instruction, I was desirous of learning what prorgess had been made in this quarter, and this morning I went over to see one of the teachers. He told me, that he and his wife had jointly used their best efforts to produce a sense of religion in the minds of the slaves; that they were all permitted to attend his morning and evening lectures, if they chose it; but that he could not say that they showed any great avidity on the subject. It seems that there are at least three hundred negroes on the estate; the number of believers has rather increased than diminished, to be sure, but still in a very small proportion. When this gentleman arrived there were not more than forty baptized persons: he has been here upwards of five years, and still the number of persons "belonging to his church" (as he expressed it) does not exceed fifty. Of these seldom more than ten or a dozen attend his lectures at a time. As to the remaining two hundred and fifty, they take no notice whatever of his lectures or his exhortations: they are very civil to him when they see him, but go on in their own old way, without suffering him to interfere in any shape. By the overseer of Greenwich's express desire, the Moravian has, however, agreed to give up an hour every day for the religious instruction of the negro children on that property: and I should certainly request him to extend his labours to Cornwall, if I did not think it right to give the Church of England clergymen full room for a trial of their intended periodical visitations; which would not be the case if the negroes were to be interfered with by the professors of any other communion: otherwise I am myself ready to give free ingress and egress upon my several estates to the teachers of any Christian sect whatever, the Methodists always

excepted; but I confess I have no hope of any material benefit arising from these religious visitations made at quarterly intervals.

FEBRUARY 23.

This morning my picture was drawn by a self-taught genius, a negro Apelles, belonging to Dr. Pope, the minister; and the picture was exactly such as a self-taught genius might be expected to produce. It was a straight hard outline, without shade or perspective: the hair was a large black patch, and the face covered with an uniform layer of flesh-colour, with a red spot in the centre of each cheek. As to likeness, there was not even an attempt to take any. But still, such as they were, there were eyes, nose, and mouth, to be sure. A long red nose supplied the place of my own snub; an enormous pair of whiskers stretched themselves to the very corner of my mouth; and in place of three hairs and a half, the painter, in the superabundance of his generosity, bestowed upon me a pair of eye-brows more bushy than Dr. Johnson's, and which, being formed in an exact semicircle, made the eyes beneath them stare with an expression of the utmost astonishment. The negroes, however, are in the highest admiration of the painter's skill, and consider the portrait as a striking resemblance; for there is a very blue coat with very yellow buttons, and white gaiters and trowsers, and an eye-glass so big and so blue, that it looks as if I had hung a pewter plate about my neck; and a bunch of watch-seals larger than those with which Pope has decorated Belinda's great-great-grandsire. John Fuller (to whom, jointly with Nicholas, the charge of this inestimable treasure is to be entrusted) could not find words to express his satisfaction at the performance. "Dere massa coat! and dere him chair him sit in! and dere massa seals, all just de very same ting! just all as one! And oh! ki! dere massa pye-glass!" In the midst of his raptures he dropped the picture, and fractured the glass. His despair now equalled his former joy;—"Oh, now what for him do? Such a pity! Just to break it after it was all done so well! All so pretty!" However, we stuck the broken glass together with wafers, and he carried it off, assuring me, "that when massa gone, he should talk to it every morning, all one as if massa still here." Indeed

this "talking to massa" is a favourite amusement among the negroes, and extremely inconvenient: they come to me perpetually with complaints so frivolous, and requests so unreasonable, that I am persuaded they invent them only to have an excuse for "talk to massa;" and when I have given them a plump refusal, they go away perfectly satisfied, and "tank massa for dis here great indulgence of talk."

There is an Eboe carpenter, named Strap, who was lately sick and in great danger, and whom I nursed with particular care. The poor fellow thinks that he never can express his gratitude sufficiently; and whenever he meets me in the public road, or in the streets of Savannah la Mar, he rushes towards the carriage, roars out to the postilion to stop, and if the boy does not obey instantly, he abuses him with all his power; "for why him no stop when him want talk to massa?"—"But look, Strap, your beast is getting away!"—"Oh! damn beast, massa."—"But you should go to your mountain, or you will get no vittle."—"Oh, damn vittle, and damn mountain! me no want vittle, me want talk wid massa;" and then, all that he has got to say is, "Oh massa, massa! God bless you, massa! me quite, *quite* glad to see you come back, my own massa!" And then he bursts into a roar of laughter so wild and so loud, that the passers-by cannot help stopping to stare and laugh too.

February 24.

To-day being a play-day, the gaiety of the negroes was promoted by a distribution of an additional quantity of salt-fish (which forms a most acceptable ingredient in their pepper-pots), and as much rum and sugar as they chose to drink. But there was also a dinner prepared at the house where the "white people" reside, expressly for the *pickaniny-mothers* only; that is, for the women who had children living. I had taken care, when this play-day was announced by the head driver, to make him inform the negroes that they were indebted for it entirely to these mothers; and to show them the more respect, I went to them after dinner myself, and drank their healths. The most respectable blacks on the estate were also assembled in the room; and I then told them that clothes would wear out, and money would be spent, and that I wished to give them something

more lasting than clothes or money. The law only allows them, as a matter of right, every alternate Saturday for themselves, and holidays for three days at Christmas, which, with all Sundays, forms their whole legal time of relaxation. I therefore granted them as a matter of right, and of which no person should deprive them on any account whatever, *every* Saturday to cultivate their grounds; and in addition to their holidays at Christmas, I gave them for play-days Good-Friday, the second Friday in October, and the second Friday in July. By which means, they will in future have the same number of holidays four times a year, which hitherto they have been allowed only once, *i.e.* at Christmas. The first is to be called "the royal play-day," in honour of that excellent Princess, the Duchess of York; and the negroes are directed to give three cheers upon the head driver's announcing "The health of our good lady, H. R. H. the Duchess of York." And I told them, that before my leaving the island, I should hear them drink this health, and should not fail to let Her Royal Highness know that the negroes of Cornwall drank her health every year. This evidently touched the right chord of their vanity, and they all bowed and courtesied down to the very ground, and said, that would do them much high honour. The ninth being my own birthday, the July play-day is to be called "the massa's;" and that in October is to be in honour of the piccaninny-mothers, from whom it is to take its name.

The poor creatures overflowed with gratitude; and the prospective indulgences which had just been announced gave them such an increase of spirits, that on returning to my own residence, they fell to singing and dancing again with as much violence as if they had been a pack of French furies at the Opera. The favourite song of the night was,

"Since massa come, we very well off;"

which words they repeated in chorus, without intermission (dancing all the time), for hours together; till, at half-past three, I could endure it no longer, and was obliged to send them word that I wanted to go to bed, and could not sleep till the noise should cease. The idea of my going to bed seemed never to have occurred to them till that moment: but now at once the drums and gumbies were mute; the children left off singing;

the women and men left off dancing; and they all with one accord fell to kicking, pulling, and thumping about two dozen of their companions, who were lying fast asleep upon the floor. Some of these resisted, some began fighting, some got up and lay down again; but at length, by dint of leading, carrying, and rolling, they got them all away. To-day my friend Strap, the Eboe, came up to the house dressed in his best clothes, to show me his seven children; he marched at their head in all the dignity of paternal pride. He begged me particularly to notice two fine little girls, who were twins. I told him that I had seen them already. "Iss! iss!" he said; "massa see um; but massa no *admire* um enough yet." Upon which I fell to admiring them, tooth and nail; and the father went away quite proud and satisfied.

February 25.

Yesterday it was observed at George's Plain, an estate about four miles off, that the water-mill did not work properly, and it was concluded that the grating was clogged up with rubbish. To clear it away, a negro immediately jumped down into the trench upon a log of wood; when he felt the log move under him, and, of course, jumped out again with all possible expedition. It was then discovered that the impediment in question proceeded from a large alligator which had wandered from the morass, and, in the hope of finding his way to the river, had swum up the mill-trench till he found himself stopped by the grating; and the banks being too high for him to gain them by leaping upwards, and the place of his confinement too narrow to admit of his turning round to go back again, his escape was impossible, and a ball, lodged near his eye, soon put an end to him. I went over to see him this morning; but I was not contented with merely seeing him, so I begged to have a steak cut off for me, brought it home, and ordered it to be broiled for dinner. One of the negroes happened to see it in the kitchen; the news spread through the estate like wildfire; and I had immediately half-a-dozen different deputations, all hoping that massa would not think of eating the alligator, for it was poisonous. However, I was obstinate, and found the taste of the flesh, when broiled with pepper and salt, and assisted by an onion

sauce, by no means to be despised; but the consistence of the meat was disagreeable, being as tough as a piece of eel-skin. Perhaps any body who wishes to eat alligator-steaks in perfection, ought to keep them for two or three days before dressing them; or the animal's age might be in fault, for the fellow was so old that he had scarcely a tooth in his head: I therefore contented myself with two or three morsels; but a person who was dining with me ate a whole steak, and pronounced the dish to be a very good one. The eggs are said to be very palatable; nor have the negroes who live near the morasses the same objection with those of Cornwall to eating the flesh: it is, however, true that the gall of the alligator, if not extracted carefully, will render the whole animal unfit for food; and when this gall is reduced to powder, it forms a poison of the most dangerous nature, as the negroes know but too well.

February 26.

I had given the most positive orders that no person whatever should presume to strike a negro, or give him abusive language, or, however great the offence might be, should inflict any punishment, except by the sole direction of the trustee himself. Yet, although I had already discharged one book-keeper on this account, this evening another of them had a dispute in the boiling-house with an African named Frank, because a pool of water was not removed fast enough; upon which he called him a rascal, sluiced him with the dirty water, and finally knocked him down with the broom. The African came to me instantly; four eye-witnesses, who were examined separately, proved the truth of his ill-usage; and I immediately discharged the book-keeper, who had contented himself with simply denying the blow having been given by him: but I told him that I could not possibly allow his single unsupported denial to outweigh five concordant witnesses to the assertion: that, if he grounded his claim to being believed merely upon his having a white skin, he would find that, on Cornwall estate at least, that claim would not be admitted; and that, as the fact was clearly established, nothing should induce me to retain him on my property, except his finding some means of appeasing the injured negro, and prevailing on him to intercede in his behalf. This was an humilia-

tion to which he could not bring himself to stoop; and, accordingly, the man has left the estate. Probably, indeed, the attempt at reconciliation would have been unsuccessful; for when one of his companions asked Frank whether, if Mr. Barker would make him a present, he had not better take it, and beg massa to let him stay, he exclaimed, in the true spirit of a Zanga,—"No, no, no! me no want present! me no want noting! Me no beg for Mr. Barker! him go away!"—I was kept awake the greatest part of the night by the songs and rejoicings of the negroes at their triumph over the offending book-keeper.

February 27.

The only horned cattle said to be fit for work in Jamaica are those which have a great deal of black in them. The white are terribly tormented by the insects, and they are weak and sluggish in proportion to the quantity of white. On the contrary, I am told that such a thing as a black horse is not to be found in the island; those which may be imported black soon change their colour into bay; and colts are said to have been dropped perfectly black, which afterwards grew lighter and lighter till they arrived at being perfectly white.

February 28.

Hearing that a manati (the sea-calf) had been taken at the mouth of the Cabrita River, and was kept alive at the Hope Wharf, I got a sailing-boat and went about eight miles to see the animal. It was suffered to live in the sea, a rope being fastened round it, by which it could be landed at pleasure. It was a male, and a very young one, not more than nine feet in length, whereas they frequently exceed eighteen. The females yield a quart of milk at a time: a gentleman told me that he had tasted it, and could not have distinguished it from the sweetest cow's milk. Unlike the seal, it never comes on shore, although it ventures up rivers in the night to feed on the grass of their banks; but during the day it constantly inhabits the ocean, where its chief enemy is the shark, whose attacks it beats off with its tail, the strength of which is prodigious. It was killed this morning, and the gentleman to whom it belonged was obliging enough to send me a part of it: we roasted it for din-

ner, and, except that its consistence was rather firmer, I should not have known it from veal.

FEBRUARY 29.

The wife of an old negro, on the neighbouring estate of Anchovy, had lately forsaken him for a younger lover. One night, when she happened to be alone, the incensed husband entered her hut unexpectedly, abused her with all the rage of jealousy, and demanded the clothes to be restored which he had formerly given her. On her refusal, he drew a knife and threatened to cut them off her back; nor could she persuade him to depart till he had beaten her severely. He had but just left the hut when he encountered his successful rival, who was returning home: a quarrel instantly ensued; and the husband, having the knife still unsheathed in his hand, plunged it into the neck of his antagonist. It pierced the jugular vein—of course the man fell dead on the spot; and the murderer has been sent to Montego Bay, to take his trial.

MARCH 1. (*Friday.*)

One of my house-boys, named Prince, is son to the Duke of Sully; and to-day his Grace came to beg that, when I should leave Jamaica, I would direct the boy to be made a tradesman, instead of being sent back to be a common field-negro: but my own shops are not only full at present, but loaded with future engagements. Sully then requested that I would send his son to learn some other trade (a tailor's, for instance) at Savannah la Mar, as had been frequently done in former times; but this also I was obliged to refuse. I told him, that formerly a master could pay for the apprenticeship of a clever negro boy, and, instead of employing him afterwards on the estate, could content himself with being repaid by a share of the profits; but that, since the Abolition had made it impossible for the proprietor of an estate to supply the place of one negro by the purchase of another, it would be unjust to his companions to suffer any one in particular to be withdrawn from service; as in that case two hundred and ninety-nine would have to do the work which is now performed by three hundred; and, therefore, I could allow my negroes to apply themselves to no trades but such as related

to the business of the property, such as carpenters, coopers, smiths, &c. "All true, massa," said Sully; "all fair and just; and, to be sure, a tailor or a saddler would be of no great use towards planting and getting in your crop; nor——" He hesitated for a moment, and then added, with a look of doubt, and in a lower voice, "Nor—nor a fiddler either, I suppose, massa?" I began to laugh. "No, indeed, Sully; nor a fiddler either!" It seems the lad, who is about sixteen, and somewhat stupid, has a passion for playing the fiddle, and, among other trades, had suggested this to his father as one which would be extremely to his taste. We finally settled that, when the plough should be introduced on my estate (which I am very anxious to accomplish, and substitute the labour of oxen for that of negroes, wherever it can possibly be done), Prince should be instructed in farming business; and, in the meanwhile, should officiate as a pen-keeper to look after the cattle.

Just now Prince came to me with a request of his own: "Massa, please, me want one little coat."—"A little coat! for what?" "Massa, please, for wear when me go down to the Bay." "And why should you wear a little coat when you go to the Bay?"—"Massa, please, make me look eerie (buckish) when me go abroad." So I assured him that he looked quite *eerie* enough already; and that, as I was going away too soon to admit of my seeing him in his little coat, there could not be the slightest occasion for his being a bit *eerier* than he was. A master in England would probably have been not a little astonished at receiving such a request from one of his groom-boys; but here one gets quite accustomed to them; and when they are refused, the petitioners themselves frequently laugh at their own unreasonableness.

March 2.

Most of those negroes who are tolerably industrious, breed cattle on my estate, which are their own property, and by the sale of which they obtain considerable sums. The pasturage of a steer would amount, in this country, to 12*l.* a-year; but the negroes get grass for their cattle from me without its costing them a farthing; and as they were very desirous that I should purchase the whole, I ordered them to agree among themselves

as to what the price should be. It was therefore settled that I should take their entire stock, good and bad indifferently, at the rate of 15*l.* a head for every three-year-old beast; and they expressed themselves not only satisfied, but very grateful for my acceptance of their proposal. John Fuller and the beautiful Psyche had each a steer to sell, and they were paid down their 15*l.* a-piece instantly, which they carried off with much glee.

MARCH 3. (*Sunday.*)

In this country it may be truly said that "it never rains but it pours." After a drought of three months it began to rain on Thursday morning, and has never stopped raining since, with thunder all the day, and lightning all the night. These incessant showers have brought out all sorts of insects and reptiles in crowds: the ground is covered with lizards; the air is filled with mosquitoes, and their bite is infinitely more envenomed than on my first arrival. A centipede was found squeezed to death under the door of my bed-room this morning. As to the cockroaches, they are absolutely in legions; every evening my negro-boys are set to hunt them, and they kill them by dozens, on the chairs and sofas, in the covers of my books, and among the leaves in my fruit-baskets.

MARCH 4. (*Monday.*)

Since my arrival in Jamaica I am not conscious of having omitted any means of satisfying my negroes, and rendering them happy and secure from oppression. I have suffered no person to be punished, except the two female demons who almost bit a girl's hands off (for which they received a slight switching), and the most worthless rascal on the estate, whom for manifold offences I was compelled, for the sake of discipline, to allow to pass two days in the bilboes. I have never refused a favour that I could possibly grant. I have listened patiently to all complaints. I have increased the number of negro holidays, and have given away money and presents of all kinds incessantly.

Now for my reward. On Saturday morning there were no fewer than forty-five persons (not including children) in the hospital; which makes nearly a fifth of my whole gang. Of these the medical people assured me that not above seven had

anything whatever the matter with them; the rest were only feigning sickness, out of mere idleness, and in order to sit doing nothing, while their companions were forced to perform their part of the estate-duty. And sure enough, on Sunday morning they all walked away from the hospital to amuse themselves, except about seven or eight: they will, perhaps, go to the field for a couple of days, and on Wednesday we may expect to have them all back again, complaining of pains which (not existing) it is not possible to remove. Jenny (the girl whose hands were bitten) was told by the doctoress, that having been in the hospital all the week, she ought not, for very shame, to go out on Sunday. She answered, "She wanted to go to the mountains, and go she would." "Then," said the doctoress, "you must not come back again on Monday at least." "Yes," Jenny said, "she *should* come back:" and back this morning Jenny came. But as her wounds were almost well, she had tied packthread round them so as to cut deep into the flesh, had rubbed dirt into them, and, in short, had played such tricks as nearly to produce mortification in one of her fingers.

The most worthless fellow on the whole property is one Nato —a thief, a liar, a runaway, and one who has never been two days together out of the hospital since my arrival, although he has nothing the matter with him: indeed, when the other negroes abused him for his laziness, and leaving them to do his work for him, he told them plainly that he did not mean to work, and that nobody should make him. The only real illness which brought him to the hospital, within my knowledge, was the consequence of a beating received from his own father, who had caught him in the act of robbing his house by the help of a false key. In the hospital he found his wife, Philippa, the mad woman, with whom he instantly quarrelled, and she cut his head open with a plate; and as she might have served one of the children in the same way, we were obliged to confine her. Her husband was thought to be the fittest person to guard her; and, accordingly, they were locked up together in a separate room from the other invalids, till a strait waistcoat could be made. The husband was then restored to freedom, and desired to go to work, which he declared to be impossible from illness; yet he disappeared the whole of the next day, and on his return the

following morning he had the impudence to assert that he had never been out of the hospital for an hour. For this runaway offence, and for endeavouring to exasperate his wife's phrenzy, he was put into the bilboes for two days: on the third he was released, when he came to me with tears in his eyes, implored me most earnestly to forgive what had passed, and promised to behave better for the future "to so good a massa." It appeared afterwards that he had employed his absence in complaining to Mr. Williams, a neighbouring magistrate, that, "having a spite against them, although neither he nor his wife had committed any fault, I had punished them both by locking them up for several days in a solitary prison, under pretence of his wife's insanity, when in fact she was perfectly in her senses." Unluckily, one of my physicians had told Mr. Williams, that very morning, how much he had been alarmed at Cornwall, when, upon going into a mad woman's room, her husband had fastened the door, and he had found himself shut up between them—the woman really mad, and the man pretending to be so too. The moment that Nato mentioned the mad woman as his wife, "What, then," said Mr. Williams, "you are the fellow who alarmed the doctor so much two days ago?" Upon which Nato had the impudence to burst into a fit of laughter,—"Oh, ki, massa, doctor no need be fright; we no want to hurt him; only make lilly bit fun wid him, massa, that all." On which he was ordered to get out of Mr. Williams's house; slunk back into the Cornwall hospital, and in a few days came to me with such a long story of penitence, and "so good a massa," that he induced me to forgive him.

To sum up the whole, about three this morning an alarm was given that the pen-keeper had suffered the cattle to get among the canes, where they might do infinite mischief: the trustee was roused out of his bed—the drivers blew their shells to summon the negroes to their assistance—when it appeared that there was not a single watchman at his post; the watch-fires had all been suffered to expire; not a single domestic was to be found, nor a horse to be procured; even the little servant-boys, whom the trustee had locked up in his own house, and had left fast asleep when he went to bed, had got up again, and made their escape to pass the night in play and rioting: and although they

were perfectly aware of the detriment which the cattle were doing to my interests, not a negro could be prevailed upon to rouse himself and help to drive them out, till at length Cubina (who had run down from his own house to mine on the first alarm) with difficulty collected about half a dozen to assist him: but long before this, one of my best cane-pieces was trampled to pieces, and the produce of this year's crop considerably diminished.—And so much for negro gratitude! However, they still continue their eternal song of "Now massa come, we very well off;" but their satisfaction evidently begins and ends with themselves. They rejoice sincerely at being very well off, but think it unnecessary to make the slightest return to massa for making them so.

MARCH 6.

Nato has kept his promise up to this time, and has actually passed a whole week in the field; a thing which he was never known to do before within the memory of man. So I sent him a piece of money to encourage him; and told him that I sent him a *maccarony* for behaving well, and wished to know whether any one had ever given him a maccarony for behaving ill. I hear that he was highly delighted at my thinking him worthy to receive a present from me, and sent me in return the most positive assurances of perseverance in good conduct. On the other hand, Mackaroo has not only run away himself, but has carried his wife away with him. This is improving upon the profligacy of British manners with a vengeance. In England, a man only runs away with another person's wife: but to run away with his own—what depravity! As to my ungrateful demigod of a sheep-stealer, Hercules, the poor wretch has brought down upon himself a full punishment for all his misdeeds. By running away, and sleeping in the woods, exposed to all the fury of the late heavy rains, he has been struck by the palsy. Yesterday some of my negroes found him in the mountains, unable to raise himself from the ground, and brought him in a cart to the hospital; where he now lies, having quite lost the use of one side, and without any hopes of recovery. He is still a young man, and in every other respect strong and healthy; so that he may look forward to a long and miserable existence.

March 9.

The shaddock contains generally thirty-two seeds, two of which only will reproduce shaddocks; and these two it is impossible to distinguish: the rest will yield, some sweet oranges, others bitter ones, others again forbidden fruit, and, in short, all the varieties of the orange; but until the trees actually are in bearing, no one can guess what the fruit is likely to prove; and even then, the seeds which produce shaddocks, although taken from a tree remarkable for the excellence of its fruit, will frequently yield only such as are scarcely eatable. So also the varieties of the mango are infinite: the fruit of no two trees resembling each other; and the seeds of the very finest mango (although sown and cultivated with the utmost care) seldom affording anything at all like the parent stock. The two first mangoes which I tasted were nothing but turpentine and sugar; the third was very delicious; and yet I was told that it was by no means of a superior quality. The *sweet* cassava requires no preparation; the *bitter* cassava, unless the juice is carefully pressed out of it, is a deadly poison; there is a third kind, called the *sweet-and-bitter* cassava, which is perfectly wholesome till a certain age, when it acquires its deleterious qualities. Many persons have been poisoned by mistaking these various kinds of cassava for each other.

One of the best vegetable productions of the island is esteemed to be the Avogada pear, sometimes called "the vegetable marrow." It was not the proper season for them, and with great difficulty I procured a couple, which were said to be by no means in a state of perfection. Such as they were, I could find no great merit in them; they were to be eaten cold with pepper and salt, and seemed to be an insipid kind of melon, with no other resemblance to marrow than their softness.

As soon as the plantain has done bearing, it is cut down; when four or five suckers spring from each root, which become plants themselves in their turn. Ratoons are suckers of the sugar-cane: they are far preferable to the original plants, where the soil is rich enough to support them; but they are much better adapted to some estates than to others. Thus, on my estate in St. Thomas's in the East, they can allow of ten ratoons

from the same plant, and only dig cane-holes every eleventh year; while, at Cornwall, the strength of the cane is exhausted in the fourth ratoon, or the fifth at furthest. The fresh plants are cane-tops; but those canes which bear *flags* or feathers at their extremities will not answer the purpose, as dry weather easily burns up the slight arrows to which the flags adhere, and destroys them before they can acquire sufficient vigour to resist the climate.

MARCH 10. (*Sunday.*)

I find that I have not done justice to the cotton-tree. Those I first saw were either withered by age, or struck by lightning, or happened to be ill-shaped of their kind; but I have since met with others, than which nothing could be more noble or picturesque, from their gigantic height, the immense spread of their arms, the colour of their stems and leaves, and the wild fantastic wreathings of their roots and branches.

Nothing can be larger and finer in appearance than the Jamaica poultry of all kinds, but nothing can be uniformly more tough and tasteless; and the same is the case with all butcher's meat, pork excepted, which is much better here than in Europe. The fault is in the climate, which prevents any animal food from being kept sufficiently long to become tender; so that when a man sits down to a Jamaica dinner, he might almost fancy himself a guest at Macbeth's Covent-Garden banquet, where the fowls, hams, and legs of mutton are all made of deal boards. I ordered a duck to be kept for two days; but it was so completely spoiled, that there was no bearing it upon the table. Then I tried the expedient of boiling a fowl till it absolutely fell to pieces; but even this violent process had not the power of rendering it tender. The only effect produced by it was, that instead of being helped to a wing of solid wood, I got a plateful of splinters. Perhaps, my having totally lost my appetite (from the climate not allowing me to take my usual exercise) makes the meat appear to me less palatable than it may to others; but I have observed that most people here prefer living upon soups, stews, and salted provisions. For my own part, I have for the last few weeks eaten nothing except black crabs, than which I never met with a more delicious article for the table. I have also tried

the *soldier* soup, which is in great estimation in this island; but although it greatly resembled the very richest cray-fish soup, it seemed to me to be composed of cray-fish which had been kept too long. The *soldiers* themselves were perfectly fresh, for they were brought to the kitchen quite alive and merry; but I was told that this taste of staleness is their peculiar flavour, as well as their peculiar scent even when alive, and is precisely the quality which forms their recommendation. It was quite enough to fix my opinion of the soup: I took two spoonfuls, and never mean to venture on a third.

To fill up my list of Jamaica delicacies, I must not forget to mention, that I did my best to procure a Cane-piece Cat roasted in the true African fashion. The Creole negroes, however, greatly disapproved of my venturing upon this dish, which they positively denied having tasted themselves; and when, at length, the Cat was procured, last Saturday, instead of plainly boiling it with negro-pepper and salt, they made it into a high-seasoned stew, which rendered it impossible to judge of its real flavour. However, I tasted it, as did also several other people, and we were unanimous in opinion that it might have been mistaken for a very good game-soup, and that, when properly dressed, a Cane-piece Cat must be excellent food.

March 12.

The most general of negro infirmities appears to be that of lameness. It is chiefly occasioned by the *chiga*, a diminutive fly which works itself into the feet to lay its eggs, and, if it be not carefully extracted in time, the flesh around it corrupts, and a sore ensues not easily to be cured. No vigilance can prevent the attacks of the chiga; and not only soldiers, but the very cleanest persons of the highest rank in society, are obliged to have their feet examined regularly. The negroes are all provided with small knives for the purpose of extracting them: but as no pain is felt till the sore is produced, their extreme laziness frequently makes them neglect that precaution, till all kinds of dirt getting into the wound, increases the difficulty of a cure; and sometimes the consequence is lameness for life.

March 13.

The Reporter of the African Institution asserts, in a late pamphlet, that in the West Indies the breeding system is to this day discouraged, and that the planters are still indifferent to the preservation of their present stock of negroes, from their confidence of getting fresh supplies from Africa. Certainly the negroes in Jamaica are by no means of this Reporter's opinion, but are thoroughly sensible of their intrinsic value in the eyes of the proprietor. On my arrival, every woman who had a child held it up to show me, exclaiming—"See, massa, see! here nice new neger me bring for work for massa;" and those who had more than one did not fail to boast of the number, and make it a claim to the greater merit with me. Last week, an old watchman was brought home from the mountains almost dead with fever; he would neither move, nor speak, nor notice any one, for several days. For two nights I sent him soup from my own table; but he could not even taste it, and always gave it to his daughter. On the third evening there happened to be no soup at dinner, and I sent other food instead; but old Cudjoe had been accustomed to see the soup arrive, and the disappointment made him fancy himself hungry, and that he could have eaten the soup if it had been brought as usual: accordingly, when I visited him the next morning, he bade the doctoress tell me that massa had sent him no soup the night before. This was the first notice that he had ever taken of me. I promised that some soup should be ordered for him on purpose, that evening. Could he fancy anything to eat *then?*—"Milk! milk!" So milk was sent to him, and he drank two full calabashes of it. I then tried him with an egg, which he also got down; and at night, by spoonfuls at a time, he finished the whole bason of soup; but when I next came to see him, and he wished to thank me, the words in which he thought he could comprise most gratitude were bidding the doctoress tell me he would do his best not to die yet; he promised to *fight hard* for it. He is now quite out of danger, and seems really to be grateful. When he was sometimes too weak to speak, on my leaving the room he would drag his hand to his mouth with difficulty, and kiss it three or four times to bid me farewell; and once, when the

doctoress mentioned his having charged her to tell me that he owed his recovery to the good food that I had sent him, he added, "And him kind words too, massa; kind words do neger much good, much as good food."

In my visits to the old man, I observed a young woman nursing him with an infant in her arms, which (as they told me) was her own, by Cudjoe. I therefore supposed her to be his wife: but I found that she belonged to a *brown* man in the mountains; and that Cudjoe hired her from her master, at the rate of thirty pounds a-year!

I hope this fact will convince the African *Reporter* that it is possible for some of this "oppressed race of human beings" —"of these our most unfortunate fellow-creatures"—to enjoy at least *some* of the luxuries of civilized society; and I doubt whether even Mr. Wilberforce himself, with all his benevolence, would not allow a negro to be quite rich enough, who can afford to pay thirty pounds a year for the hire of a kept mistress.

March 15.

On opening the Assize-court for the county of Cornwall on March 4, Mr. Stewart, the Custos of Trelawny, and Presiding Judge, said, in his charge to the jury, he wished to direct their attention in a peculiar manner to the infringement of slave-laws in the island, in consequence of charges having been brought forward in England of slave-laws not being enforced in this country, and of their being in fact perfect dead letters. The charge was unfounded; but it became proper, in consequence, for the bench to call in a strong manner on the grand jury to be particularly vigilant and attentive to the discharge of this part of their duty. The bench at the same time adverted to another subject connected with the above. Many out of the country, and *some in it*, had thought proper to interfere with our system, and by their insidious practices and dangerous doctrines to call the peace of the island into question, and to promote disorder and confusion. The jury were therefore enjoined, in every such case, to investigate it thoroughly, and to bring the parties concerned before the country, and not to suffer the systems of the island, as established by the laws of the land, to be overset or endangered. It was their bounden duty to watch over and support

the established laws, and to act against those who dared to infringe them; and that, otherwise, it was imperiously called for on the principle of self-preservation. Every country had its peculiar laws, on the due maintenance of which depended the public safety and welfare. I read all this with the most perfect unconsciousness: when, lo and behold! I have been assured, from a variety of quarters, that all this was levelled at myself! It is I (it seems) who am "calling the peace of the island in question;" who am "promoting disorder and confusion;" and who am "infringing the established laws!" I should never have guessed it! By "insidious practices" is meant (as I am told) my over-indulgence to my negroes; and my endeavouring to obtain either redress or pardon for those belonging to other estates, who occasionally appeal to me for protection: while "dangerous doctrines" alludes to the opinions I have expressed, that the evidence of negroes ought at least to be *heard* against white persons.

My opinion is most decided that they ought to be heard; the jury, of course, always making proportionable abatements of belief, from bearing in mind the bad habits of most negroes, their general want of probity and good faith in every respect, and their total ignorance of the nature of religious obligations. At the same time, these defects may be counterbalanced by the respectable character of the particular negro; by the strength of corroborating circumstances; and, finally, by the irresistible conviction which his evidence may leave upon the minds of the jury. They are not obliged to *believe* a negro witness, but I maintain that he ought to be *heard*, and then let the jury give their verdict according to their conscience. But this, in the opinion of the bench at Montego Bay, it seems, is "dangerous doctrine!" At least, the venom of my doctrines is circumscribed within very narrow limits; for, as I have made a point of never stirring off my own estate, nobody could possibly be corrupted by them except those who were at the trouble of walking into my house for the express purpose of being corrupted.

At all events, if I *really* am the person to whom Mr. Stewart alluded, I must consider his speech as the most flattering compliment I ever received. If my presence in the island has made

the bench of a whole country think it necessary to exact from the jury a more severe vigilance than usual in all causes relating to the protection of negroes, I cannot but own myself most richly rewarded for all my pains and expense in coming hither, for every risk of the voyage, and for every possible sacrifice of my pleasures. There is nothing earthly that is too much to give for the power of producing an effect so beneficial; and I would set off for Constantinople to-morrow, could I only be convinced that my arrival would make the Mufti redress the complaints of the lower orders of Turks with more scrupulous justice, and the Bashaws relax the fetters of their slaves as much as their safety would permit. But I cannot flatter myself with having done either the one or the other in Jamaica; and if Mr. Stewart *really* alluded to me in his charge, I am certainly greatly obliged to him; but he has paid me much too high a compliment;—God grant that I may live to deserve it!

March 16.

It is to be wished, that the negroes would content themselves with their occasional amusements of poisoning, stabbing, thieving, &c., on a small scale; but a plan has just been discovered in the adjoining parish of St. Elizabeth's, for giving themselves a grand fête by murdering all the whites in the island. The focus of this meditated insurrection was on Martin's Penn, the property of Lord Balcarras, where the overseer is an old man of the mildest character, and the negroes had always been treated with peculiar indulgence. Above a thousand persons were engaged in the plot, three hundred of whom had been regularly sworn to assist in it with all the usual accompanying ceremonies of drinking human blood, eating earth from graves, &c. Luckily, the plot was discovered time enough to prevent any mischief; and yesterday the ringleaders were to be tried at Black River.

March 17. (*Sunday.*)

The 'Cornwall Chronicle' informs us, that, at the Montego Bay assizes, a man was tried on the Monday, for assaulting, while drunk, an officer who had served with great distinction, and calling him a coward; for which offence he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 100*l.*; and on the Tues-

day the same man brought an action against a third person for calling him a "drunken liar," for which he was awarded 1000*l.* for damages! A plain man would have supposed two such verdicts to be rather inconsistent; but one lives to learn. This man was a clergyman; and his cause of quarrel against the officer was the latter's refusal to give him a puncheon of rum to christen all his negroes in a lump.

MARCH 22.

Mr. Plummer came over from St. James's to-day, and told me that the "insidious practices and dangerous doctrines" in Mr. Stewart's speech were intended for the Methodists, and that only the charge to the grand jury respecting "additional vigilance" was in allusion to myself; but he added that it was the report at Montego Bay, that, in consequence of my over-indulgence to my negroes, a song had been made at Cornwall, declaring that I was come over to set them all free, and that this was now circulating through the neighbouring parishes. If there be any such song (which I do not believe), I certainly never heard it. However, my agent here says, that he has reason to believe that my negroes really have spread the report that I intend to set *them* free in a few years; and that they have done this merely out of vanity, in order to give themselves and their master the greater credit upon other estates. As to the truth of an assertion, that is a point which never enters into negro consideration.

The two ringleaders of the proposed rebellion at St. Elizabeth's have been condemned, the one to be hanged, the other to be transported. The plot was discovered by the overseer of Lyndhurst Penn (a Frenchman from St. Domingo) observing an uncommon concourse of stranger negroes at a child's funeral, on which occasion a hog was roasted by the father. He stole softly down to the feasting-hut, and listened behind a hedge to the conversation of the supposed mourners; when he heard the whole conspiracy detailed. It appears that above two hundred and fifty had been sworn in regularly, all of them Africans; not a Creole was among them. But there was a *black* ascertained to have stolen over into the island from St. Domingo, and a *brown* Anabaptist missionary, both of whom had been very

active in promoting the plot. They had elected a King of the Eboes, who had two Captains under him; and their intention was to effect a complete massacre of all the whites on the island; for which laudable design His Majesty thought Christmas the very fittest season in the year, but his Captains were more impatient, and were for striking the blow immediately. The next morning information was given against them: one of the Captains escaped to the woods; but the other, and the King of the Eboes, were seized and brought to justice. On their trial they were perfectly cool and unconcerned, and did not even profess to deny the facts with which they were charged. Indeed, proofs were too strong to admit of denial; among others, a copy of the following song was found upon the King, which the overseer had heard him sing at the funeral-feast, while the other negroes joined in the chorus:—

SONG OF THE KING OF THE EBOES.

Oh me good friend, Mr. Wilberforce, make we free!
God Almighty thank ye! God Almighty thank ye!
God Almighty, make we free!
Buckra in this country no make we free:
What Negro for to do? What Negro for to do?
Take force by force! Take force by force!

CHORUS.

To be sure! to be sure! to be sure!

The Eboe King said, that he certainly had made use of this song, and what harm was there in his doing so? He had sung no songs but such as his brown priest had assured him were approved of by John the Baptist. "And who, then, was John the Baptist?" He did not very well know; only he had been told by his brown priest, that John the Baptist was a friend to the negroes, and had got his head in a pan!

As to the Captain, he only said in his defence, that if the court would forgive him this once, he would not do so again, "as he found the whites did not like their plans;" which, it seems, till that moment the conspirators had never suspected! They had all along imagined, no doubt, that the whites would find as much amusement in having their throats cut, as the blacks would find in cutting them. I remember hearing a sportsman, who was defending the humanity of hunting, main-

tain, that it being as much the nature of a hare to run away as of a dog to run after her, consequently the hare must receive as much pleasure from being coursed, as the dog from coursing.

MARCH 23.

Two negroes upon Amity estate quarrelled the other day about some trifle, when the one bit the other's nose off completely. Soon after his accident, the overseer meeting the sufferer—"Why, Sambo," he exclaimed, "where's your nose?" "I can't tell, massa," answered Sambo; "I looked everywhere about, but I could not find it."

MARCH 24. (*Sunday.*)

Every Sunday since my return from Kingston I have read prayers to such of the negroes as chose to attend, preparatory to the intended visitations of the minister, Dr. Pope. About twenty or thirty of the most respectable among them generally attended, and behaved with great attention and propriety. I read the Litany, and made them repeat the responses. I explained the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer to them, teaching them to say each sentence of the latter after me, as I read it slowly, in hopes of impressing it upon their memory. Then came "the good Samaritan," or some such apologue; and, lastly, I related to them a portion of the life of Christ, and explained to them the object of his death and sufferings. The latter part of my service always seemed to interest them greatly; but, indeed, they behaved throughout with much attention. Unluckily, the head driver, who was one of the most zealous of my disciples, never could repeat the responses of the Litany without an appeal to myself, and always made a point of saying —"Good Lord, deliver us; yes, sir!" and made me a low bow. Like my friend the Moravian, at Mesopotamia, I cannot boast of any increased audience; and if the negroes will not come to hear massa, I have little hope of their giving up their time to hear Dr. Pope, who inspires them with no interest, and can exert no authority. Indeed, I am afraid that I am indebted for the chief part of my present auditory to my quality of massa rather than that of priest; and when I ask any of them why they did not come to prayers on the preceding Sunday, their excuse

is always coupled with an assurance that they wished very much to come, "because they wish to do *anything* to oblige massa."

March 25.

The negroes certainly are perverse beings. They had been praying for a sight of their master year after year; they were in raptures at my arrival; I have suffered no one to be punished, and shown them every possible indulgence during my residence amongst them; and one and all they declare themselves perfectly happy and well treated. Yet, previous to my arrival, they made thirty-three hogsheads a-week; in a fortnight after my landing, their product dwindled to twenty-three; during this last week they have managed to make but thirteen. Still they are not ungrateful; they are only selfish: they love me very well, but they love themselves a great deal better; and, to do them justice, I verily believe that every negro on the estate is extremely anxious that all should do their full duty, except himself. My censure, although accompanied with the certainty of their not being punished, is by no means a matter of indifference. If I express myself to be displeased, the whole property is in an uproar; everybody is finding fault with everybody; there is nobody that does not represent the shame of neglecting my work, and the ingratitude of vexing me by their ill-conduct; and then each individual—having said so much and said it so strongly, that he is convinced of its having its full effect in making the others do their duty—thinks himself quite safe and snug in skulking away from his own.

March 26.

Young Hill was told at the Bay this morning, that I make a part of the Eboe King's song! According to this report, "good King George and good Mr. Wilberforce" are stated to have "given me a paper" (*i. e.* an order) to set the negroes free, but that the white people of Jamaica will not suffer me to show the paper, and that I am now going home to say so, and "to resume my place, which I have left during my absence to be filled by the Regent."

Since I heard the report of a rebellious song issuing from Cornwall, I have listened more attentively to the negro chants;

but they seem, as far as I can make out, to relate entirely to their own private situation, and to have nothing to do with the negro state in general. Their favourite, "We varry well off," is still screamed about the estate by the children; but among the grown-up people its nose has been put out of joint by the following stanzas, which were explained to me this morning. For several days past they had been dinned into my ears so incessantly, that at length I became quite curious to know their import, which I learned from Phillis, who is the family-minstrel. It will be evident from this specimen, that the Cornwall bards are greatly inferior to those of Black River, who have actually advanced so far as to make an attempt at rhyme and metre.

NEGRO SONG AT CORNWALL.

Hey-ho-day! me no care a dammee!
Me acquire a house, (*i. e.* I have a solid foundation to build on,)
Since massa come see we—oh!

Hey-ho-day! neger now quite eerie, (*i. e.* hearty,)
For once me see massa—hey-ho-day!
When massa go, me no care a dammee,
For how them usy we—hey-ho-day!

* * * * * *

An alligator, crossing the morass at Bellisle, an estate but a few miles distant from Cornwall, fell into a water-trench, from which he struggled in vain to extricate himself, and was taken alive. Fontenelle says, that when Copernicus published his system, he foresaw the contradictions which he should have to undergo—"et il se tira d'affaire très-habilement. Le jour qu'on lui présentoit le premier exemplaire, scavez-vous ce qu'il fit? Il mourut;" which was precisely the resource resorted to by the alligator. He died on the second morning of his captivity, and his proprietor, Mr. Storer, was obliging enough to order the skin to be stuffed, and to make me a present of him. Neptune was despatched to bring him (or rather her, for nineteen eggs were found within her) over to Cornwall; and at dinner to-day we were alarmed with a general hubbub. It proved to be occasioned by the arrival of Neptune with the alligator on his head. In a few minutes everything on the estate that was alive, without feathers, and with only two legs, flocked into the room, and requested to be allowed to take a bird's-eye view of the monster; for as to

coming near her, *that* they were much too cowardly to venture. It was in vain that I represented to them, that being dead it was utterly impossible that the animal could hurt them: they allowed the impossibility, but still kept at a respectful distance; and when at length I succeeded in persuading them to approach it, upon some one accidentally moving the alligator's tail, they all, with one accord, set up a loud scream, and men, women, and children tumbled out of the room over one another, to the irreparable ruin of some of my glasses and decanters, and the extreme trepidation of the whole sideboard.

The negro-husband, who stabbed his rival in a fit of jealousy, has been tried at Montego Bay, and acquitted. On the other hand, the King of the Eboes has been hung at Black River, and died, declaring that he left enough of his countrymen to prosecute the design in hand, and revenge his death upon the whites. Such threats of a rescue were held out, that it was judged advisable to put the militia under arms, till the execution should have taken place; and also to remove the King's Captain to the jail at Savannah-la-Mar, till means can be found for transporting him from the island.

MARCH 27.

The Eboe captain has effected his escape by burning down the prison door. It is supposed that he has fled towards the fastnesses in the interior of the mountains, where I am assured that many settlements of runaway slaves have been formed, and with which the inhabited part of the island has no communication. However, the chief of the Accompong Maroons, Captain Roe, is gone in pursuit of him, and has promised to bring him in, alive or dead. The latter is the only reasonable expectation, as the fugitive is represented as a complete desperado.

The negroes have at least given me one proof of their not being entirely selfish. When they heard that the boat was come to convey my baggage to the ship at Black River, they collected all their poultry and brought it to my agent, desiring him to add it to my sea-stores. Of course I refused to let it be received, and they were evidently much disappointed till I consented to accept the fowls and ducks, and then gave them back to them again, telling them to consider them as a present from my own

hen-house, and to distinguish them by the name of "massa's poultry."

MARCH 28.

I have been positively assured that an attempt was made to persuade the grand jury at Montego Bay to present me for over-indulgence to my own negroes! It is a great pity that so reasonable an attempt should not have succeeded. The rebel captain who broke out of prison has been found concealed in the hut of a notorious Obeah-man, and has been lodged a second time in the jail of Savannah-la-Mar.

MARCH 29.

About two months ago, a runaway cooper belonging to Shrewsbury estate, by name Edward, applied to me to intercede for his not being punished on his return home. As soon as he got the paper, he gave up all idea of returning to the estate, and instead of it went about the country stealing everything upon which he could lay his hands; and whenever his proceedings were inquired into by the magistrates, he stated himself to be on the road to his trustee, and produced my letter as a proof of it. At length some one had the curiosity to open the letter, and found that it had been written two months before.

MARCH 30.

This was the day appointed for the first "Royal play-day," when I bade farewell to my negroes. I expected to be besieged with petitions and complaints, as they must either make them on this occasion or not at all. I was, therefore, most agreeably surprised to find, that although they had opportunities of addressing me from nine in the morning till twelve at night, the only favours asked me were by a poor old man, who wanted an iron cooking-pot, and by Adam, who begged me to order a little daughter of his to be instructed in needle-work: and as to complaints, not a murmur of such a thing was heard; they all expressed themselves to be quite satisfied, and seemed to think that they could never say enough to mark their gratitude for my kindness, and their anxiety for my getting safe to England. We began our festival by the head driver's drinking the health of H. R. H. the

Duchess of York, whom the negroes cheered with such a shout as might have "rent hell's concave."

Then we had a christening of such persons as had been absent on the former occasion, one of whom was Adam, the reputed Obeah-man. In the number was a new-born child, whom we called Shakspeare, and whom Afra, the Eboe mother, had very earnestly begged me to make a Christian, as well as a daughter of hers about four or five years old, at the same time that she declined being christened herself! In the same manner Cubina's wife, although her father and husband were both baptized on the former occasion, objected to going through the ceremony herself; and the reason which she gave was, that "she did not like being christened while she was with child, as she did not know what change it might not produce upon herself and the infant."

After the christening there was a general distribution of salt-fish by the trustee; and I also gave every man and woman half a dollar each, and every child a maccarony (fifteen pence) as a parting present, to show them that I parted with them in good humour. While the money was distributing young Hill arrived, and finding the house completely crowded, he inquired what was the matter. "Oh, massa," said an old woman, "it is only *my son*, who is giving the negroes all something."

I also read to them a new code of laws, which I had ordered to be put in force at Cornwall for the better security of the negroes. The principal were, that "a new hospital for the lying-in women, and for those who might be seriously ill, should be built, and made as comfortable as possible; while the present one should be reserved for those whom the physicians might declare to be very slightly indisposed, or not ill at all;—the doors being kept constantly locked, and the sexes placed in separate chambers, to prevent its being made a place of amusement by the lazy and lying, as is the case at present."—"A book register of punishments to be kept, in which the name, offence, and nature and quantity of punishment inflicted must be carefully put down, and also a note of the same given to the negro, in order that, if he should think himself unjustly, or too severely punished, he may show his note to my other attorney on his next visit, or to myself on my return to Jamaica, and thus get redress if he has

been wronged."—"No negro is to be struck or punished in any way without the trustee's express orders: the black driver so offending to be immediately degraded and sent to work in the field; and the white person, for such a breach of my orders, to be discharged upon the spot."—"No negro is to be punished till twenty-four hours shall have elapsed between his committing the fault and suffering for it, in order that nothing should be done in the heat of passion, but that the trustee should have time to consider the matter coolly. But to prevent a guilty person from avoiding punishment by running away, he is to pass those twenty-four hours in such confinement as the trustee may think most fitting."—"Any white person, who can be proved to have had an improper connection with a woman known publicly to be living as the wife of one of my negroes, is to be discharged immediately upon complaint being made." I also gave the head driver a complete list of the allowances of clothing, food, &c., to which the negroes were entitled, in order that they might apply to it if they should have any doubts as to their having received their full proportion. My new rules seemed to add greatly to the satisfaction of the negroes, who were profuse in their expressions of gratitude.

The festival concluded with a grander ball than usual, as I sent for music from Savannah-la-Mar to play country-dances to them; and at twelve o'clock at night they left me apparently much pleased, only I heard them saying to each other, "When shall we have such a day of pleasure again, since massa goes to-morrow?"

MARCH 31. (*Sunday.*)

With their usual levity the negroes were laughing and talking as gaily as ever till the very moment of my departure; but when they saw my curricle actually at the door to convey me away, then their faces grew very long indeed. In particular, the women called me by every endearing name they could think of. "My son! my love! my husband! my father!" "You no my massa, you my tata!" said one old woman; and when I came down the steps to depart, they crowded about me, kissing my feet and clasping my knees, so that it was with difficulty that I could get into the carriage. And this was done with such

marks of truth and feeling, that I cannot believe the whole to be mere acting and mummery.

I dined with Mr. Allwood at Shaftstone, near Blue-fields, and at half-past seven found myself once more on board the "Sir Godfrey Webster."

YARRA.

Poor Yarra comes to bid farewell,
  But Yarra's lips can never say it!
Her swimming eyes—her bosom's swell—
  The debt she owes you, these must pay it.
She ne'er can speak, though tears can start,
  Her grief, that fate so soon removes you;
But One there is, who reads the heart,
  And well He knows how Yarra loves you!

See, massa, see this sable boy!
  When chill disease had nipp'd his flower,
You came and spoke the word of joy,
  And poured the juice of healing power.
To visit far Jamaica's shore
  Had no kind angel deign'd to move you,
These laughing eyes had laugh'd no more,
  Nor Yarra lived to thank and love you.

Then grieve not, massa, that to view
  Our isle you left your English pleasures:
One tear, which falls in grateful dew,
  Is worth the best of Britain's treasures.
And sure, the thought will bring relief,
  Whate'er your fate, wherever rove you,
Your wealth 's not gained through pain and grief,
  But given by hands and hearts that love you.

May He, who bade you cross the wave,
  Through care for Afric's sons and daughters;
When round your bark the billows rave,
  In safety guide you through the waters!
By all you love with smiles be met;
  Through life each good man's tongue approve you:
And though far distant, don't forget,
  While Yarra lives, she'll live to love you!

April 1.

At eight this morning we weighed anchor on our return to England. The trade-winds, which facilitate the passage to Ja-

maica, effectually prevent the return of vessels by the same road. The common passage is through the Gulf of Florida, but there is another between Cuba and St. Domingo, which is at least 1000 miles nearer. The first, however, affords almost a certainty of reaching Europe in a given time, while you may keep tacking in the attempt to make the windward passage (as it is called) for months together. Last night, however, the wind was so favourable for this attempt, that the captain determined upon risking it. Accordingly he altered his course; but had not done so for more than a few hours when the wind changed, and became as direct for the Gulf as till then it had been contrary. The consequence was, that the Gulf passage was fixed once for all, and we are now steering towards it with all our might and main. Besides the distance saved there was another reason for preferring the windward passage, if it could have been effected. The Gulf of Florida has for some time past been infested by a pirate called Captain Mitchell, who, by all accounts, seems to be a gentleman of the very worst description. It is not long ago since, in company with another vessel of his own stamp, he landed on the small settlement of St. Andrew's, plundered it completely, and on his departure carried off the governor, whom he kept on board for more than fourteen days, and then hung him at the yard-arm out of mere wanton devilry. His companion has been captured and brought into Kingston, and the conquering vessel is gone in search of Captain Mitchell. If it does not fall in with him, and *we* do, I fear that we shall stand but a bad chance; for he has one hundred men on board according to report, while we have not above thirty. However, the captain has harangued them, represented the necessity of their fighting if attacked, as Captain Mitchell is known to spare no one, high or low, and has engaged to give every man five guineas a-piece if a gun should be fired. The sailors promise bravery; what their promises will prove we must leave to be decided by time and Captain Mitchell. In the meanwhile, every sail that appears on the horizon is concluded to be this terrible pirate, and everything is immediately put in readiness for action.

April 15.

At noon this day we found ourselves once more sailing on the

Atlantic, and bade farewell to the Gulf of Florida without having heard any news of the dreaded Commodore Mitchell. The narrow and dangerous part of the Gulf is about two hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth, bordered on one side by the coast of Florida, and on the other, first by Cuba, and then by the Bahama Islands, of which the Manilla reef forms the extremity, which reef also terminates the Gulf. But on both sides of these two hundred miles, at the distance of about four or five miles from the main-land, there extends a reef which renders the navigation extremely dangerous. This reef is broken at intervals by large inlets; and the sudden and violent squalls of wind to which the Gulf is subject, so frequently drive vessels into these perilous openings, that it is worth the while of many of the poorer inhabitants of Florida to establish their habitations within the reef, and devote themselves and their small vessels entirely to the occupation of assisting vessels in distress. They are known by the general name of "wreckers," and are allowed a certain salvage upon such ships as they may rescue. As a proof of the violence of the gales which are occasionally experienced in this gulf, our captain, about nine years ago, saw the wind suddenly take a vessel (which had unwisely suffered her canvass to stand, while the rest of the ships under convoy had taken theirs in) and turn her completely over, the sails in the water and the keel uppermost. It happened about four o'clock in the afternoon: the captain and the passengers were at dinner in the cabin; but as she went over very leisurely, they and the crew had time allowed them to escape out of the windows and port-holes, and sustain themselves upon the rigging, till boats from the ships near them could arrive to take them off. As she filled, she gradually sunk, and in a quarter of an hour she had totally disappeared.

April 20.

Our captain told me that, two or three years ago, whilst his vessel was lying in Black River Bay, for the purpose of loading, a negro contrived to secrete himself in the lower part of it, where the sugar hogsheads are stored, unknown to any one. As soon as the cargo was completed, the planks above it were caulked down, and raised no more till their ship reached Liver-

pool; when, to the universal astonishment, upon opening th hold, out walked Mungo, in a wretched condition to be sure, bu still at least alive, and a freeman in Great Britain. During hi painful voyage he had subsisted entirely upon sugar, of whic he had consumed nearly a hogshead; how he managed for wat I could not learn, nor can imagine.

April 27.

Many years ago, a new species of grass was imported int Jamaica, by Mr. Vassal (to whom an estate near my own the belonged), as he said "for the purpose of feeding his pigs an his book-keepers." Its seeds being soon scattered about by th birds, it has taken possession of the cane-pieces, whence to eradi cate it is an utter impossibility, the roots being as strong as thos of ginger, and insinuating themselves under ground to a grea extent; so that the only means of preventing it from entirel choking up the canes, is plucking it out with the hand, which i obliged to be done frequently, and has increased the labour o the plantation at least one third. This nuisance, which is calle "Vassal's grass," from its original introducer, has now com pletely overrun the parish of Westmoreland, has begun to sho itself in the neighbouring parishes, and probably in time wil get a footing throughout the island. St. Thomas's in the Eas has been inoculated with another self-inflicted plague, under th name of "the rifle-ant," which was imported for the purpose o eating up the ants of the country; and so to be sure they did but into the bargain they eat up every thing else which came i their way, a practice in which they persist to this hour; so tha it may be doubted whether in Jamaica most execrations ar bestowed in the course of the day upon Vassal's grass, the rifle ants, Sir Charles Price's rats, or the Reporter of the Africa Society; only that the maledictions uttered against the firs three are necessarily local, while the Reporter of the Africa Society comes in for curses from all quarters.

April 30. (*Tuesday.*)

A whole calendar month has elapsed since our quitting Ja maica, during which the wind has been favourable for somethin less than four-and-twenty hours; either it has blown precisel

om the point on which we wanted to sail, or has been so faint at we scarcely made one knot an hour. However, on Tuesday st, finding ourselves in the latitude of the "still-vexed Bercothes," by way of variety, a sudden squall carried away both ır lower stunsails in the morning; and at nine in the evening ere came on a gale of wind truly tremendous. The ship tched and rolled every minute, as if she had been on the point ' overturning; the hen-coops floated about the deck, and many ? the poultry were found drowned in them the next morning. ust as the last dead-light was being put up, the sea embraced the pportunity of the window being open, to whip itself through, ıd half filled the after-cabin with water; and in half an hour ore a mountain of waves broke over the vessel, and pouring self through the sky-light, paid the same compliment to the ıre-cabin. About four in the morning the storm abated, and ıen we relapsed into our good old jog-trot pace of a knot an our. Our passengers consist of a Mrs. Walker with her two hildren, and a sick surgeon of the name of Ashman.

May 7.

A negro song.—"Me take my cutacoo (*i. e.* a basket made of ıatting), and follow him to Lucea, and all for love of my bonny ıan-O—My bonny man come home, come home! Doctor no o you good. When neger fall into neger hands, buckra doctor o do him good more. Come home, my gold ring, come home!" 'his is the song of a wife, whose husband had been Obeahed by nother woman, in consequence of his rejecting her advances.

A negro riddle: "Pretty Miss Nancy was going to market, nd she tore her fine yellow gown, and there was not a tailor in ll the town who could mend it again." This is a ripe plantain 'ith a broken skin.

The negroes are also very fond of what they call Nancy stories, art of which is related, and part sung. The heroine of one of ıem is an old woman named Mamma Luna, who having left a ot boiling in her hut, found it robbed on her return. Her ıspicions were divided between two children whom she found t play near her door, and some negroes who had passed that ay to market. The children denied the theft positively. It was ecessary for the negroes, in order to reach their own estate, to

wade through a river at that time almost dry; and on their return, Mammy Luna (who, it should seem, was not without some skill in witchcraft) warned them to take care in venturing across the stream, for that the water would infallibly rise and carry away the person who had stolen the contents of her pot; but if the thief would but confess the offence, she engaged that no harm should happen, as she only wanted to exculpate the innocent, and not to punish the guilty. One and all denied the charge, and several crossed the river without fear or danger; but upon the approach of a *belly-woman* to the bank, she was observed to hesitate. "My neger, my neger," said Mammy Luna, "why you stop? me tink, you savee well, who thief me?" This accusation spirited up the woman, who instantly marched into the river, singing as she went (and the woman's part is always chanted frequently in chorus, which the negroes call "taking up the sing")—

"If da me eat Mammy Luna's pease-O,
Drowny me water, drowny, drowny!"

"My neger, my neger," cried the old woman, "me sure now you the thief! me see the water wet you feet. Come back, my neger, come back." Still on went the woman, and still continued her song of

"If da me eat Mammy Luna's pease," &c.

"My neger, my neger," repeated Mammy Luna, "me no want punish you; my pot smell good, and you belly-woman. Come back, my neger, come back; me see now water above your knee!" But the woman was obstinate; she continued to sing and to advance till she reached the middle of the river's bed, when down came a tremendous flood, swept her away, and she never was heard of more; while Mammy Luna warned the other negroes never to take the property of another; always to tell the truth; and, at least, if they should be betrayed into telling a lie, not to persist in it, otherwise they must expect to perish like their companion. Observe, that a moral is always an indispensable part of a Nancy-story.

Another is as follows:—"Two sisters had always lived together on the best terms; but, on the death of one of them, the other treated very harshly a little niece who had been left to her

care, and made her a common drudge to herself and her daughter. One day the child, having broken a water-jug, was turned out of the house, and ordered not to return till she could bring back as good a one. As she was going along weeping, she came to a large cotton-tree, under which was sitting an old woman without a head. I suppose this unexpected sight made her gaze rather too earnestly, for the old woman immediately inquired, 'Well, my piccaniny, what you see?' 'Oh, mammy,' answered the girl, 'me no see nothing.' 'Good child!' said again the old woman, 'and good will come to you.' Not far distant was a cocoa-tree, and here was another old woman, without any more head than the former one. The same question was asked her, and she failed not to give the same answer which had already met with so good a reception.

"Still she travelled forwards, and began to feel faint through want of food; when, under a mahogany-tree, she not only saw a third old woman, but one who, to her great satisfaction, had got a head between her shoulders. She stopped and made her best courtesy, 'How day, grannie!' 'How day, my piccaniny; what matter? you no look well.' 'Grannie, me lilly hungry.' 'My piccaniny, you see that hut, there's rice in the pot, take it, and yam-yamme; but if you see one black puss, mind you give him him share.'

"The child hastened to profit by the permission; the 'one black puss' failed not to make its appearance, and was served first to its portion of rice, after which it departed; and the child had but just finished her meal when the mistress of the hut entered, and told her that she might help herself to three eggs out of the fowl-house, but that she must not take any of the *talking* ones: perhaps, too, she might find the black puss there also; but if she did, she was to take no notice of her. Unluckily all the eggs seemed to be as fond of talking as if they had been so many old maids, and the moment that the child entered the fowl-house there was a cry of 'Take *me!* Take *me!*' from all quarters. However, she was punctual in her obedience; and although the conversable eggs were remarkably fine and large, she searched about till at length she had collected three little dirty-looking eggs that had not a word to say for themselves.

"The old woman now dismissed her guest, bidding her to

return home without fear; but not to forget to break one of the eggs under each of the three trees near which she had seen an old woman that morning. The first egg produced a water-jug exactly similar to that which she had broken; out of the second came a whole large sugar-estate; and out of the third a splendid equipage, in which she returned to her aunt, delivered up the jug, related that an old woman in a red docker (*i. e.* petticoat) had made her a great lady, and then departed in triumph to her sugar-estate.

"Stung by envy, the aunt lost no time in sending her own daughter to search for the same good fortune which had befallen her cousin. She found the cotton-tree and the headless old woman, and had the same question addressed to her; but instead of returning the same answer—'What me see?' said she; 'me see one old woman without him head!' Now this reply was doubly offensive: it was rude, because it reminded the old lady of what might certainly be considered as a personal defect; and it was dangerous, as, if such a circumstance were to come to the ears of the buckras, it might bring her into trouble, women being seldom known to walk and talk without their heads, if ever, except by the assistance of Obeah. 'Bad child!' cried the old woman; 'bad child! and bad will come to you!'

"Matters were no better managed near the cocoa-tree; and even when she reached the mahogany, although she saw that the old woman had not only got her head on, but had a red docker besides, she could not prevail on herself to say more than a short 'How day?' without calling her 'grannie.' However, she received the permission to eat rice at the cottage, coupled with the injunction of giving a share to the black puss; an injunction, however, which she totally disregarded, although she scrupled not to assure her hostess that she had suffered puss to eat till she could eat no more. The old lady in the red petticoat seemed to swallow the lie very glibly, and dispatched the girl to the fowl-house for three eggs, as she had before done her cousin; but having been cautioned against taking the talking eggs, she conceived that these must needs be the most valuable, and therefore made a point of selecting those three which seemed to be the greatest gossips. Then, lest their chattering should betray her disobedience, she thought it best not to return into the hut, and

accordingly set forward on her return home; but she had not yet reached the mahogany-tree when curiosity induced her to break one of the eggs. To her infinite disappointment it proved to be empty; and she soon found cause to wish that the second had been empty too: for, on her dashing it against the ground, out came an enormous yellow snake, which flew at her with dreadful hissings. Away ran the girl; a fallen bamboo lay in her path; she stumbled over it and fell. In her fall the third egg was broken; and the old woman without the head immediately popping out of it, told her, that if she had treated her as civilly as her cousin had done, she would have obtained the same good fortune; but that as she had shown her nothing but rudeness, she must be contented to carry nothing home but the empty egg-shells. The old woman then jumped upon the yellow snake, galloped away with incredible speed, and never showed her red docker in that part of the island any more."

April 8.

At breakfast the captain was explaining to me the dangerous consequences of breaking the wheel-rope: two hours afterwards the wheel-rope broke, and round swung the vessel. However, as the accident fortunately took place in the day-time, and when the sea was perfectly calm, it was speedily remedied: but this was "talking of the devil and his imps" with a vengeance.

April 23.

A gale of wind began to show itself on Monday night; it has continued to blow ever since with increasing violence, and is now become very serious. The captain says that he never experienced weather so severe at this season: this is only my usual luck. Certainly nothing can be more disagreeable than a ship on these occasions. The sea breaks over the vessel every minute, and it is really something awful to see the waves raised into the air by the force of the gale, hovering for a while over the ship, and then coming down upon us swop, to inundate everything below deck as well as upon it. The wind is piercingly cold; the floors and walls are perpetually streaming. But a fire is quite out of the question; and, indeed, at one time to-day our eating appeared to be out of the question too; for at four o'clock the

cook sent us word that the sea put the kitchen fire out as fast as he could light it; that he was almost frozen, having been for the last eight hours up to his waist in water, and that we must make up our minds to get no dinner to-day. However, the steward coaxed him and encouraged him, and poured spirits down his throat, and at last a dinner of some kind was put upon the table; but it had not been there ten minutes before a tremendous sea poured itself down the companion-stairs and through the hatchway, set everything on the table afloat, deluged the cabin, ducked most of the company, and drove us all into the other room. I was lucky enough to escape with only a sprinkling. We can only cross the cabin by creeping along by the sides as if we were so many cats. Walking the deck, even for the sailors, is absolutely out of the question; and the little cabin-boy has so fairly given up the attempt, that he goes crawling about upon all fours. Even our Spanish mastiff, Flora, finds it impossible to keep her four legs upon deck. Every five minutes up they all go, away rolls the dog over and over, and when she gets up again shakes her ears, and howls in a tone of the most piteous astonishment.

April 24.

Though the gale was itself sufficiently serious, its effects at first were ludicrous enough; but yesterday it produced a consequence truly shocking and alarming. Edward Sadler, the second mate, was at breakfast in the steerage: the boatswain had been cutting some beef with a large case-knife, which he had afterput down upon the chest on which they were sitting; a sudden heel of the ship threw them all to the other side of the cabin; the knife fell with its haft against the ladder; and poor Edward falling against it, at least three inches of the blade were forced into his right side. The wound was dressed without the loss of a moment: but from its depth, the jaggedness of the weapon with which it was made, and from a pain which immediately afterwards seized the poor fellow in his chest, the apothecary thinks that his recovery is very improbable: he says that the liver is certainly perforated, and so probably are the lungs. If the latter have escaped, it must have been only by the breadth of a hair. Every one in the ship is distressed beyond measure

at this accident, for the young man is a universal favourite. He is but just one-and-twenty, good-looking, with manners much superior to his station, and so unusually steady as well as active, that if Providence grants him life he cannot fail to raise himself in his profession.

April 25.

Edward complains no longer of the pain in his chest; he sleeps well, eats enough, has no fever, and every symptom is so favourable, that Dr. Ashman encourages us to hope that he has received no material injury. Our ship-carpenter has always appeared to be the sulkiest and surliest of sea-bears: yet on the day of Edward's accident he passed every minute that he could command by the side of his sofa, kneeling and praying, and watching him as if he had been his son, and every now and then wiping away his "own tears" with the dirtiest of all possible pocket-handkerchiefs. So that what Goldsmith said of Dr. Johnson may be applied to this old man—"He has nothing of a bear but his skin." After tearing every sail in the ship into shivers, and being as disagreeable as ever it could be, the gale has at length abated. Yesterday it was a storm, and we were going to Ireland, Lisbon, Brest—in short, everywhere except to England; to-day it is a dead calm, and we are going nowhere at all.

April 28.

The wounded mate is so much recovered as to come upon deck for a few hours to-day, and may now be considered as completely out of danger; although Dr. Ashman is positive (from his difficulty of breathing at first, and the subsequent pain in his chest) that his lungs must actually have been wounded, however slightly. We are now nearly abreast of Scilly.

It seems to be an indispensable requisite for a Nancy-story, that it should contain a witch or a duppy, or in short, some marvellous personage or other. It is a kind of "*pièce à machines.*" But the creole slaves are very fond of another species of tale, which they call "Neger-tricks," and which bear the same relation to a Nancy-story which a farce does to a tragedy. The following is a specimen:—

A Neger-trick.—"A man who had two wives divided his

provision-grounds into two parts, and proposed that each of the women should cultivate one half. They were ready to do their proper share, but insisted that the husband should at least take his third of the work. However, when they were to set out, the man was taken so ill that he found it impossible to move; he quite roared with pain, and complained bitterly of a large lump which had formed itself on his cheek during the night. The wives did what they could to relieve him, but in vain: they boiled a negro-pot for him, but he was too ill to swallow a morsel; and at length they were obliged to leave him, and go to take care of the provision-grounds. As soon as they were gone the husband became perfectly well, emptied the contents of the pot with great appetite, and enjoyed himself in ease and indolence till evening, when he saw his wives returning, and immediately he became worse than ever. One of the women was quite shocked to see the size to which the lump had increased during her absence: she begged to examine it; but although she barely touched it with the tip of her finger as gingerly as possible, it was so tender that the fellow screamed with agony. Unluckily, the other woman's manners were by no means so delicate; and seizing him forcibly by the head to examine it, she undesignedly happened to hit him a great knock on the jaw, and lo and behold! out flew a large lime which he had crammed into it. Upon which both his wives fell upon him like two furies; beat him out of the house; and whenever afterwards he begged them to go to the provision-grounds, they told him that he had got no lime in his mouth *then*, and obliged him from that time forwards to do the whole work himself."

A negro was brought to England, and the first point shown him being the chalky cliffs of Dover, "O ki!" he said; "me know now what makes the buckras all so white!"

May 29.

We once more saw the "Lizard," and indeed it was full time that we should. Besides that our provisions were nearly exhausted by the length of the voyage, our crew was in a great measure composed of fellows of the most worthless description; and the captain lately discovered that some of them had contrived to break a secret passage into the hold, where they had

broached the rum-casks, and had already passed several nights in drinking, with lighted candles. A single spark would have been sufficient to blow us all up to the moon!

JUNE 1. (*Saturday.*)

We took our river-pilot on board; and on Wednesday the 5th, we reached Gravesend. I went on shore at nine in the morning; and here I conclude my JAMAICA JOURNAL.

1817.—NOVEMBER 5. (*Wednesday.*)

I LEFT London, and again embarked for Jamaica on board the same vessel which conveyed me thither in 1815, and with the same captain also. When we weighed our anchor at Gravesend, before it could be got on board the cable slipped, and down again went the anchor, carrying along with it one of the men who happened to be standing upon it at the moment, and who in consequence went plump to the bottom. Luckily the fellow could swim; so in a few minutes he was on board again, and no harm done. We did not reach the Downs till Sunday the 9th, after experiencing in our passage a severe gale of wind, which broke the bowsprit of a vessel in our sight, but did us no mischief. On arriving in the Downs we found all the flags flying half-mast high, which is a signal of mourning; and we learnt that in a few hours after giving birth to a still-born son, the Princess Charlotte of Wales had expired at half-past two on Thursday morning.

NOVEMBER 21.

We left the Downs on the 19th; the weather was fine, but the wind so perverse, that we did not arrive in sight of Portsmouth till this evening.

NOVEMBER 22.

This morning we quitted Portsmouth, and this evening we returned to it. The Needle rocks were already in sight when the wind failed completely. There was no getting through the

passage, and the dread of a gale would not admit of our remaining in so dangerous a roadstead. So we had nothing for it but to "return to the place whence we came." We are now anchored upon the Motherbank, about two miles from Ryde.

DECEMBER 24. (*Wednesday.*)

I had often heard talk of "a hell upon earth," and now I have a perfect idea of "a hell upon water." It must be precisely our vessel during the last three weeks. On the 3rd we left the Motherbank, and on the 4th we passed Plymouth, and were actually in sight of the Lizard point, when the wind suddenly became completely foul, and drove us back into the Channel. It continued to strengthen, and by the time that night arrived, we had a violent gale, which blew incessantly till the middle of Sunday, the 7th, when we were glad to find ourselves once more in sight of Plymouth, and took advantage of a temporary abatement of the wind to seek refuge in the Sound. Here, however, we soon found that we had but little reason to rejoice at the change of our situation. The Sound was already crowded with vessels of all descriptions; and as we arrived so late, the only mooring still unoccupied placed us so near the rocks on one side, and another vessel astern, that the captain confessed that he should feel considerable anxiety if the gale should return with its former violence. So of course, about eleven at night, the gale *did* return; not, indeed, with its former violence, but increased tenfold; and once we were in very imminent danger from our ship's swinging round by a sudden squall, and narrowly escaping coming in contact with the ship astern, which had not, it seems, allowed itself sufficient cable. Luckily we just missed her; and our cables (for both our anchors were down) being new and good, we rode out the storm without driving or meeting with any accident whatever. The next day was squally; and in spite of the Breakwater, the rocking of the ship from the violent agitation of the waves by the late stormy weather was almost insupportable. However, on the 9th the wind took a more favourable turn, though in so slight a degree that the pilot expressed great doubts whether it would last long enough to do us any service. But the captain felt his situation in Plymouth Sound so uneasy, that he resolved at least to make the attempt, and so we crept

once more into the Channel. In a few hours the breeze strengthened; about midnight we passed the lights upon the Lizard, and the next morning England was at length out of sight. This cessation of ill-luck soon proved to be only "*reculer pour mieux sauter.*" The gale, it seems, had only stopped to take breath: about four in the afternoon of Wednesday the wind began to rise again; and from that time till the middle of the 23rd it blew a complete storm day and night, with only an occasional intermission of two or three hours at a time. Every one in the ship declared that they had never before experienced so obstinate a persecution of severe weather: every rag of sail was obliged to be taken down; the sea was blown up into mountains, and poured itself over the deck repeatedly. The noise was dreadful; and as it lasted incessantly, to sleep was impossible; and I passed ten nights, one after another, without closing my eyes; so that the pain in the nerves of them at length became almost intolerable, and I began to be seriously afraid of going blind. In truth, the captain could not well have pitched upon a set of passengers worse calculated to undergo the trial of a passage so rough. As for myself, my brain is so weak, that the continuation of any violent noise makes me absolutely light-headed; and a pop-gun going off suddenly is quite sufficient at any time to set every nerve shaking, from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot. Then we had a young lady who was ready to die of sea-sickness, and an old one who was little better through fright; and I had an Italian servant who was as sick as the young lady, and as much frightened as the old one. The poor fellow had never been really *out at sea* before; and with every crack which the vessel gave, he thought that to be sure she was splitting right in half. The sailors too were quite knocked up from the unremitting fatigue to which they were subjected by the continuance of this dreadful weather. Several of them were ill; and one poor fellow actually died and was committed to the ocean. To make matters still worse, during the first week the wind was as foul as it could blow; and we did nothing but run backwards and forwards, without advancing a step towards our object; till at length every particle of my very small stock of patience was exhausted, and I could no longer resist suggesting our returning to port, rather than continue buffeting about in

the chops of the Channel, so much to the damage of the ship and all contained in her. A change of wind, however, gave a complete answer to this proposal. On Thursday it became favourable as to the prosecution of our voyage, but its fury continued unabated till the evening of the 23rd. It then gradually died away, and left us becalmed before the island of Madeira, where we are now rolling backwards and forwards in sight of its capital, Funchal, on the 24th of December, being seven weary weeks since our departure from Gravesend. The evening sun is now very brilliant, and shines full upon the island, the rocks of which are finely broken. The height of the mountains cause their tops to be lost in the clouds; the sides are covered with plantations of vines and forests of cedars; and the white edifices of Funchal, built upon the very edge of the shore, have a very picturesque appearance. We are now riding between the island and an isolated group of inaccessible rocks called "the Deserters;" and the effect of the scene altogether is beautiful in the extreme.

DECEMBER 31. (*Wednesday.*)

We are now in the latitudes commonly known by the name of "the Horse Latitudes." During the union of America and Great Britain, great numbers of horses used to be exported to the colonies, and the winds in these latitudes are so capricious, squally, and troublesome—now a gale and then a dead calm, now a fair wind and the next moment a foul one—that more horses used to die in this portion of the passage than during all the remainder of it. These horse-killing latitudes extend from 29° to 25° or 24½°.

JANUARY 17. (*Saturday.*)

On Saturday, the 3rd, we managed to crawl over the line, and had no sooner got to the other side of it, than we were completely becalmed; and even when we were able to resume our progress, it was at such a pace that a careless observer might have been pardoned for mistaking our manner of moving for a downright standing still. Day after day produced nothing better for us than baffling winds, so light that we scarcely made two miles an hour, and so variable that the sails could be scarcely set in one direction before it became necessary to shift them to an-

other; while the monotony of our voyage was only broken by an occasional thunder-storm, the catching a stray dolphin now and then, watching a shoal of flying-fish, or guessing at the complexion of the corsairs on board some vessel in the offing: for the Caribbean Sea is now dabbed all over like a painter's pallette with corsairs of all colours,—black from St. Domingo, brown from Carthagena, white from North America, and pea-green from the Cape de Verd Islands. On the afternoon of the 4th, one of them was at no very great distance from us; she hoisted English colours on seeing ours; but there was little doubt, from her peculiar appearance, that she was a privateer from Carthagena. She set her head towards us, and seemed to be doing her best to come to a nearer acquaintance; but the same calm which hindered us from bravely running away from her, hindered her also from reaching us, although at nightfall she seemed to have gained upon us. In the night we had a violent thunder-storm, and the next morning she was not to be seen. Still we continued to creep and to crawl, grumbling and growling, till on Sunday, the 11th, the long-looked-for breeze came at last. The trade-wind began to blow with all its might and main right in the vessel's poop, and sent us forward at the rate of 200 miles a-day. We passed between Deseada and Antigua in the night of the 15th; and, on the 16th, the rising sun showed us the island-mountain of Montserrat; the sight of which was scarcely less agreeable to our eyes from its romantic beauty, than welcome from its giving us the assurance that our long-winded voyage is at length drawing towards its termination.

January 19.

Yesterday morning a miniature shark chose to swallow the bait laid for dolphins, and in consequence soon made his appearance upon deck. It was a very young one, not above three feet long. I ordered a slice of him to be broiled at dinner, but he was by no means so good as a dolphin; still there was nothing in the taste so unpalatable as to prevent the flesh from being very acceptable in the absence of more delicate food. In the evening, a bird, about the size of a large pigeon, flew on board, and was knocked down by the mate with his hat. It was sulky, and would not be persuaded to eat anything that was offered, so

he was suffered to escape this morning. It was beautifully shaped, with a swallow-tail, wings of an extraordinary spread in comparison with the smallness of the body, a long sharp bill, black and polished like a piece of jet, and eyes remarkably large and brilliant. The head, back, and outside of the wings were of a brownish slate-colour, and the rest of his feathers of the most dazzling whiteness. It is called a crab-catcher.

JANUARY 24. (*Saturday.*)

Our favourable breeze lasted till Tuesday, the 20th; when, having brought us half-way between St. Domingo and Jamaica, it died away, and we dragged on at the rate of two or three miles an hour till Thursday afternoon, which placed us at the mouth of Black River. If we had arrived one hour earlier, we could have immediately entered the harbour; but, with our usual good fortune, we were just too late for the daylight. We therefore did not drop anchor till two o'clock on Friday, before the town of Black River; and on Saturday morning, at four o'clock, I embarked in the ship's cutter for Savannah la Mar. Every one assured us that we could not fail to have a favourable sea-breeze the whole way, and that we should be on land by eight: instead of which what little wind there was veered round from one point of the compass to the other with the most indefatigable caprice; and we were not on shore till eleven. Here I found Mr. T. Hill, who luckily had his phaëton ready, in which he conveyed me once more to Cornwall. The accounts of the general behaviour of my negroes are tolerably good, and they all express themselves satisfied with their situation and their superintendents. Yet, among upwards of three hundred and thirty negroes, and with a greater number of females than men, in spite of all indulgences and inducements, not more than twelve or thirteen children have been added annually to the list of the births. On the other hand, this last season has been generally unhealthy all over the island, and more particularly so in my parish; so that I have lost several negroes, some of them young, strong, and valuable labourers in every respect; and in consequence, my muster-roll is rather diminished than increased since my last visit. I had been so positively assured that the custom of plunging negro-infants, immediately upon their being born,

into a tub of cold water, infallibly preserved them from the danger of tetanus, that, on leaving Jamaica, I had ordered this practice to be adopted uniformly. The negro mothers, however, took a prejudice against it, and have been so obstinate in their opposition, that it was thought unadvisable to attempt the enforcing this regulation. From this and other causes I have lost several infants; but I am told, that on other estates in the neighbourhood they have been still more unfortunate in regard to their children; and one was named to me, on which sixteen were carried off in the course of three days.

JANUARY 26. (*Monday.*)

The joy of the negroes on my return was quite sufficiently vociferous, and they were allowed to-day for a holiday. They set themselves to singing and dancing yesterday, in order to lose no time; and to show their gratitude for the indulgence, not one of the five pen-keepers chose to go to their watch last night; the consequence was, that the cattle made their escape, and got into one of my very best cane-pieces. The alarm was given; my own servants and some of the head people had grace enough to run down to the scene of action; but the greatest part remained quietly in the negro-houses, beating the gumby-drum, and singing their joy for my arrival with the whole strength of their lungs, but without thinking it in the least necessary to move so much as a finger-joint in my service. The cattle were at length replaced in their pen, but not till the cane-piece had been ruined irretrievably. Such is negro gratitude, and such my reward for all that I have suffered on ship-board. To be sure, as yet there could not be a more ill-starred expedition than my present one.

JANUARY 29.

There is a popular negro song, the burden of which is—

"Take him to the Gulley! Take him to the Gulley!
But bringee back the frock and board."
"Oh! massa, massa! me no deadee yet!"—
"Take him to the Gulley! Take him to the Gulley!"
"Carry him along!"

This alludes to a transaction which took place some thirty years ago, on an estate in this neighbourhood, called Spring-

Garden; the owner of which (I think the name was Bedward) is quoted as the cruellest proprietor that ever disgraced Jamaica. It was his constant practice, whenever a sick negro was pronounced incurable, to order the poor wretch to be carried to a solitary vale upon his estate, called the Gulley, where he was thrown down and abandoned to his fate—which fate was generally to be half-devoured by the John-crows before death had put an end to his sufferings. By this proceeding the avaricious owner avoided the expense of maintaining the slave during his last illness; and, in order that he might be as little a loser as possible, he always enjoined the negro bearers of the dying man to strip him naked before leaving the Gulley, and not to forget to bring back his frock and the board on which he had been carried down. One poor creature, while in the act of being removed, screamed out most piteously "that he was not dead yet;" and implored not to be left to perish in the Gulley in a manner so horrible. His cries had no effect upon his master, but operated so forcibly on the less marble hearts of his fellow-slaves, that in the night some of them removed him back to the negro-village privately, and nursed him there with so much care that he recovered, and left the estate unquestioned and undiscovered. Unluckily, one day the master was passing through Kingston, when, on turning the corner of a street suddenly, he found himself face to face with the negro whom he had supposed long ago to have been picked to the bones in the Gulley. He immediately seized him, claimed him as his slave, and ordered his attendants to convey him to his house; but the fellow's cries attracted a crowd round them before he could be dragged away: he related his melancholy story, and the singular manner in which he had recovered his life and liberty; and the public indignation was so forcibly excited by the shocking tale, that Mr. Bedward was glad to save himself from being torn to pieces by a precipitate retreat from Kingston, and never ventured to advance his claim to the negro a second time.

January 30.

A man has been tried at Kingston for cruel treatment of a Sambo female slave, called Amey. She had no friends to support her cause, nor any other evidence to prove her assertions than the

apparent truth of her statement, and the marks of having been branded in five different places. The result was, that the master received a most severe reprimand for his inhuman conduct, and was sentenced to close confinement for six months; while the slave, in consequence of her sufferings, was restored to the full enjoyment of her freedom.

It appears to me that nothing could afford so much relief to the negroes, under the existing system, as the substituting the labour of animals for that of slaves in agriculture, wherever such a measure is practicable. On leaving the island I impressed this wish of mine upon the minds of my agents with all my power; but the only result has been the creating a very considerable additional expense in the purchase of ploughs, oxen, and farming implements: the awkwardness, and still more the obstinacy, of the few negroes whose services were indispensable, was not to be overcome; they broke plough after plough, and ruined beast after beast, till the attempt was abandoned in despair. However, it was made without the most essential ingredient for success—the superintendence of an English ploughman: and such of the ploughs as were of cast-iron could not be repaired when once broken, and therefore ought not to have been adopted; but I am told that in several other parts of the island the plough has been introduced, and completely successful.

Another of my farming speculations answered no better: this was to improve the breed of cattle in the country, for which purpose Lord Holland and myself sent over four of the finest bulls that could be procured in England. One of them got a trifling hurt in his passage from the vessel to the land; but the remaining three were deposited in their respective pens without the least apparent damage. They were taken all possible care of—houses appropriated to shelter them from the sun and rain—and, in short, no means of preserving their health was neglected. Yet, shortly after their arrival in Jamaica, they evidently began to decline; they paid no sort of attention to the cows who were confined in the same paddock; and at the end of a fortnight they were all dead. The injured one, having been bled the most copiously in consequence of his hurt, was that which survived the longest.

FEBRUARY 1. (*Sunday.*)

During my former visit to Jamaica I had interceded in behalf of a negro belonging to Greenwich estate, named Aberdeen, who had run away repeatedly, but who attributed his misconduct to the decay of his health, which rendered him unable to work as well as formerly, and to the fear of consequent punishment for not having performed the tasks assigned to him. The fellow while he spoke to me had tears running down his cheeks, looked feeble and ill, and indeed seemed to be quite heart-broken. On my speaking to the attorney, he readily promised to inquire into the truth of the man's statement, and to take care that he should be only allotted such labour as his strength might be fully equal to. This morning he came over to see me, and so altered that I could scarcely believe him to be the same man. He was cleanly dressed, walked with his head erect, and his eyes sparkled, and his mouth grinned from ear to ear, while he told me that during my absence everything had gone well with him, nobody had "put upon him;" he had been tasked no more than suited his strength; as much as he was able to do, he had done willingly, and had never run away. Even his asthma was better in consequence of the depression being removed from his spirits. So, he said, as soon as he heard of my return, he thought it his duty to come over and show himself to me, and tell me that he was well, and contented, and behaving properly; for that "to be sure, if massa no speak that good word for me to trustee, me no livee now; me good massa!" Gratitude made him absolutely eloquent: his whole manner, and the strong expression of his countenance, put his sincerity out of all doubt, and I never saw a man seem to feel more truly thankful. All negroes, therefore, are not absolutely without some remembrance of kindness shown them; and indeed I ought not, in justice to my own people, to allow myself to forget that, when I sent a reward to those who had roused themselves to drive the cattle out of the canes the other night, there was considerable difficulty in persuading them to accept the money: they sent me word, "that as they were all well treated on the estate, it was their business to take care that no mischief was done to it, and that they did not deserve to be rewarded for having merely done their duty by me."

February 2.

One of the deadliest poisons used by the negroes (and a great variety is perfectly well known to most of them) is prepared from the root of the cassava. Its juice being expressed and allowed to ferment, a small worm is generated, the substance of which being received into the stomach is of a nature the most pernicious. A small portion of this worm is concealed under one of the thumb-nails, which are suffered to grow long for this purpose; then, when the negro has contrived to persuade his intended victim to eat or drink with him, he takes an opportunity, while handing to him a dish or cup, to let the worm fall, which never fails to destroy the person who swallows it. Another means of destruction is to be found (as I am assured) in almost every negro-garden throughout the island: it is the arsenic-bean, neither useful for food nor ornamental in its appearance; nor can the negroes, when questioned, give any reason for affording it a place in their gardens; yet there it is always to be seen. The alligator's liver also possesses deleterious properties; and the gall is said to be still more dangerous.

February 3.

Whether it be the climate not agreeing with their African blood (genuine or inherited), or whether it be from some defect in their general formation, certainly negroes seem to hold their lives upon a very precarious tenure. Some of my strongest workmen, the very servants too in my own house, are perpetually falling ill with little fevers, or colds, or pains in the head or limbs. However, the season is universally allowed to have been peculiarly unhealthy for negroes; and, indeed, even for white people, the deaths on board the shipping having been unusually numerous this year; and in the barracks, which are scarcely a couple of miles distant from my estate, the yellow fever has established itself, and, as I hear, is committing terrible ravages, particularly among the wives of the soldiers. This morning several negro mothers, belonging to Friendship and Greenwich, came to complain to their attorney (who happened to be at my house) that the overseer obliged them to wean their children too soon. Some of these children were above twenty-two months

old, and none under eighteen; but, in order to retain the leisure and other indulgences annexed to the condition of nursing-mothers, the female negroes, by their own good-will, would never wean their offspring at all. Of course their demands were rejected, and they went home in high discontent; one of them, indeed, not scrupling to declare aloud, and with a peculiar emphasis and manner, that if the child should be put into the weaning-house against her will, the attorney would see it dead in less than a week.

February 4.

The violent gale of wind which persecuted us with so much pertinacity on our leaving the English Channel is supposed to have been the tail of a tremendous hurricane which has utterly laid waste Barbadoes and several other islands. No less than sixteen of the ships which sailed at the same time with us are reported to have perished upon the passage; so that I ought to consider it at least as a negative piece of good luck to have reached Jamaica myself, "no bones broke, though sore peppered;" but I am still trembling in uncertainty for the fate of the vessel which is bringing out all my Irish supplies, and the non-arrival of which would be a misfortune to me of serious magnitude. The negroes are so obstinate and so wilful in their general character, that if they do not receive the precise articles to which they have been accustomed, and which they expect as their right, no compensation, however ample, can satisfy them. Thus, at every Christmas it would go near to create a rebellion if they did not receive a certain proportion of salt fish; but if, in the intervening months, accident should prevent their receiving their usual allowance of herrings, the giving them salt fish, although of double the value, would be considered by them as an act of the grossest injustice.

February 5.

On Saturday about eight in the evening a large centipede dropped from the ceiling upon my dinner-table, and was immediately cut in two exact halves by one of the guests. As it is reported in Jamaica that these reptiles when thus divided will re-unite again, or if separated will reproduce their missing mem-

bers, and continue to live as stoutly as ever, I put both parts into a plate, under a glass cover. On Sunday they continued to move about their prison with considerable agility, although the tail was evidently much more lively and full of motion than the head. On Monday the head was dead, but the tail continued to run about, and evidently endeavoured to make its escape, although it appeared not to know very well how to set about it, nor to be perfectly determined as to which way it wanted to go. On Wednesday at twelve o'clock its vivacity was a little abated, but only a little: the wound was skinned over, and I was waiting anxiously to know whether it would subsist without its numskull till a good old age, or would put forth an entirely spick and span new head and shoulders, when on going to look at the plate on Thursday morning, lo and behold! the dead head and the living tail had disappeared together. I suppose some of the negro servants had thrown them away through ignorance, but they one and all most stoutly deny having so much as touched the plate; and as a paper case pierced in several places had been substituted for the glass cover, some persons are of opinion that the tail made its escape through one of these air-holes, and carried its head away with it in its forceps. Be this as it may, gone they both are, and I am disappointed beyond measure. I have proclaimed a reward for the bringing me another; but I am told that these reptiles are only found by accident.

February 6.

Mr. Lutford, the proprietor of a considerable estate in the parish of Clarendon, had frequently accused a particular negro of purloining coffee. About six months ago the slave was sent for, and charged with a fresh offence of the same nature, when he confessed having taken a small quantity; upon which his master ordered him to fix his eyes on a particular cotton-tree, and then, without any further ceremony, shot him through the head. His mistress was the coroner's natural daughter, and the coroner himself was similarly connected with the custos of Clarendon. In consequence of this family compact no inquest was held, no inquiry was made; the whole business was allowed to be slurred over, and the murder would have remained unpunished if accident had not brought some rumours respecting it to the

governor's ear. An investigation was ordered to take place without delay, but Mr. Lutford received sufficient warning to get on ship-board, and escape to America; and the displacing of the custos of Clarendon for neglecting his official duty was the only means by which the governor could express his abhorrence of the act.

FEBRUARY 8. (*Sunday.*)

My estate is greatly plagued by a negress named Catalina; she is either mad or has long pretended to be so: never works, and always steals. About a week before my arrival she was found in the trash-house, which she had pitched upon as the very fittest place possible for her kitchen; and there she was sitting, very quietly and comfortably, boiling her pot over an immense fire, and surrounded on all sides by dry canes, inflammable as tinder. This vagary was of too dangerous a nature to allow of her being longer left at liberty, and she was put into the hospital. But her husband was by no means pleased with her detention, as he never failed to appropriate to himself a share of her plunder, and when discovered the blame of the robbery was laid upon his wife's insanity. So, while the general joy at my first arrival drew the hospital attendants from their post, he took the opportunity to carry off his wife and conceal her. The consequence was, that this morning complaints poured upon me of gardens robbed by Catalina, who had carried off as much as she could, dug up and destroyed the rest, and had shown as little conscience in providing herself with poultry as in helping herself to vegetables. I immediately despatched one of the negro-governors with a party in pursuit of her, who succeeded in lodging her once more in the hospital, where she must remain till I can get her sent to the asylum at Kingston, the only hospital for lunatics in the whole island.

FEBRUARY 12.

On my former visit to Jamaica I found on my estate a poor woman nearly one hundred years old, and stone blind. She was too infirm to walk, but two young negroes brought her on their backs to the steps of my house, in order, as she said, that she might at least touch massa, although she could not see him.

When she had kissed my hand, "that was enough," she said; "now me hab once kiss a massa's hand, me willing to die to-morrow, me no care." She had a woman appropriated to her service, and was shown the greatest care and attention; however, she did not live many months after my departure. There was also a mulatto about thirty years of age, named Bob, who had been almost deprived of the use of his limbs by the horrible cocoa-bay, and had never done the least work since he was fifteen. He was so gentle and humble, and so fearful, from the consciousness of his total inability of soliciting my notice, that I could not help pitying the poor fellow; and whenever he came in my way I always sought to encourage him by little presents, and other trifling marks of favour. His thus unexpectedly meeting with distinguishing kindness where he expected to be treated as a worthless incumbrance, made a strong impression on his mind. Soon after my departure his malady assumed a more active appearance, but during the last stages of its progress the only fear which he expressed was, that he should not live till Christmas, when my return was expected to a certainty. In the meanwhile he endeavoured to find out a means of being of some little use to me, although his weak constitution would not allow of his being of much. Some of his relations being in opulent circumstances, they furnished him with a horse, for he was too weak to walk for more than a few minutes at a time, and mounted upon this, he passed all his time in traversing the estate, watching the corn that it might not be stolen, warning the pen-keepers if any of the cattle had found their way into the cane-pieces, and doing many other such little pieces of service to the property; so that, as the negroes said, "if he had been a white man he might have been taken for an overseer." At length Christmas arrived. It was known that I was on the sea; Bob, too, was still alive; but still there was nothing to be heard of me. His perpetual question to all who came to visit him was "How was the wind?" and he was constantly praying to the wind and the ocean to bring massa's vessel soon to Savannah la Mar, that he might but see him once more, and thank him, before he died. At length I landed; and when on the day of my arrival on my estate I expressed my surprise at the non-appearance of several of the negroes who had appeared to be most attached to me, and I had

expected to find most forward in greeting me, I was told that a messenger had been sent to call them, and that their absence was occasioned by their attendance at poor Bob's funeral. Several of his relations who nursed him on his death-bed, have assured me that the last audible words which he uttered were, "No news of massa yet?"

FEBRUARY 14.

I think that I really may now venture to hope that my plans for the management of my estate have succeeded beyond even my most sanguine expectations. I have now passed three weeks with my negroes, the doors of my house open all day long, and full liberty allowed to every person to come and speak to me without witnesses or restraint; yet not one man or woman has come to me with a single complaint. On the contrary, all my inquiries have been answered by an assurance, that during the two years of my absence my regulations have been adhered to most implicitly, and that, "except for the pleasure of seeing massa," there was no difference. Many of them have come to tell me instances of kindness which they have received from one or other of their superintendents; others to describe some severe fit of illness in which they must have died but for the care taken of them in the hospital; some, who were weakly and low-spirited on my former visit, to show me how much they are improved in health, and tell me "how they keep up heart now, because since massa come upon the property nobody put upon them, and all go well;" and some who had formerly complained of one trifle or other, withdraw their complaints, and say that they want no change, and are willing to be employed in any way that might be thought most for the good of the estate. Although I have now at least *seen* every one of them, and have conversed with numbers, I have not yet been able to find one person who had so much as even an imaginary grievance to lay before me. Yet I find that it has been found necessary to punish with the lash, although only in a very few instances; but then this only took place on the commission of absolute *crimes*, and in cases where its necessity and justice were so universally felt, not only by others, but by the sufferers themselves, that instead of complaining, they seem only to be afraid of their offence coming to

my knowledge: to prevent which, they affect to be more satisfied and happy than all the rest; and now when I see a mouth grinning from ear to ear with a more than ordinary expansion of jaw, I never fail to find on inquiry, that its proprietor is one of those who have been punished during my absence. I then take care to give them an opportunity of making a complaint, if they should have any to make; but none is uttered: "everything has gone on perfectly well, and just as it ought to have done." Upon this I drop a slight hint of the offence in question, and instantly away goes the grin, and down falls the negro to kiss my feet, confess his fault, and "beg massa forgib, and them never do so bad thing more to fret massa, and them beg massa pardon, hard, quite hard!" But not one of them has denied the justice of his punishment, or complained of undue severity on the part of his superintendents.

On the other hand, although the lash has thus been in a manner utterly abolished, except in cases where a much severer punishment would have been inflicted by the police, and although they are aware of this unwillingness to chastise, my trustee acknowledges that during my absence the negroes have been quiet and tractable, and have not only laboured as well as they used to do, but have done much more work than the negroes on an adjoining property, where the number is considerably larger, and where, moreover, a considerable sum is paid for hired assistance. Having now waited three weeks to see how they would conduct themselves, and found no cause of dissatisfaction since the neglect of the watchmen to guard the cattle (and which they one and all attributed to their joy at seeing me again), I thought it time to distribute the presents which I had brought for them from England.

During my absence I had ordered a new and additional hospital to be built, intended entirely for the use of lying-in women, nursing mothers, and cases of a serious nature, for which purpose it is to be provided with every possible comfort; while the old hospital is to be reserved for those who have little or nothing the matter with them, but who obstinately insist upon their being too ill to work, in defiance of the opinion of all their medical attendants. The new hospital is not quite finished; but wishing to connect it as much as possible with pleasurable associations,

I took occasion of the distribution of presents to open it for the first time. Accordingly, the negroes were summoned to the new hospital this morning; the rooms were sprinkled with Madeira for good luck, and the toast of "Health to the new hospital, and shame to the old lazy house!" was drunk by the trustee, the doctoresses, the governors, &c., and received by the whole assembly of negroes with loud cheering; after which every man received a blue jacket lined with flannel, every woman a flaming red stuff petticoat, and every child a frock of white cotton. They then fell to dancing and singing, and drinking rum and sugar, which occupations they have kept up till a much later hour than would be at all approved of by the bench of bishops; for it is now Sunday morning, and they are still dancing and singing louder than ever.

FEBRUARY 15. (*Sunday.*)

To-day divine service was performed at Savannah la Mar for the first time these five weeks. The rector has been indisposed lately with the lumbago: he has no curate; and thus during five whole weeks there was a total cessation of public worship. I had told several of my female acquaintance that it was long since they had been to church, that I was afraid of their forgetting all about it, and that if there should be no service for a week longer I should think it my duty to come and hear them say their Catechism myself. Luckily the rector recovered, and saved me the trouble; but the long privation of public prayer did not seem to have annoyed them, and I have seldom witnessed a more meagre congregation. I cannot discover that the negroes have any external forms of worship, nor any priests in Jamaica, unless their Obeah-men should be considered as such; but still I cannot think that they ought to be considered as totally devoid of all natural religion. There is no phrase so common on their lips as "God bless you!" and "God preserve you!" and "God will bless you wherever you go!" phrases which they pronounce with every appearance of sincerity, and as if they came from the very bottom of their hearts. "God-A'mity! God-A'mity!" is their constant exclamation in pain and in sorrow. This proves their belief in a Supreme Being. But they have even got a step further: for they also allow the existence of an evil principle.

From their language they appear to believe that hell is a place of torment, and that the devil reigns there; and surely they could not be afraid of duppies (or ghosts) without some idea of a future state; and indeed, nothing is more firmly impressed upon the mind of the Africans, than that after death they shall go back to Africa and pass an eternity in revelling and feasting with their ancestors.

The proprietor of a neighbouring estate lately used all his influence to persuade his foster-sister to be christened, but it was all in vain; she had imbibed strong African prejudices from her mother, and frankly declared that she found nothing in the Christian system so alluring to her taste as the post-obit balls and banquets promised by the religion of Africa. I confess that this prejudice appears to me to be so strongly rooted, that I am sadly afraid the efforts of the curates who are expected to be sent out by the Bishop of London will avail but little; and that the rewards after death which Christianity offers will be outweighed by the pleasures of eating fat hog, drinking raw rum, and dancing for centuries to the jam-jam and kitty-katty.

February 16.

On my arrival I found that idle rogue Nato, as usual, an inmate of the hospital, where he regularly passes at least nine months out of the twelve. He was with infinite difficulty persuaded at the end of a fortnight to employ himself about the carriage-horses for a couple of days; but on the third he returned to the hospital, although the medical attendants, one and all, declared nothing to be the matter with him, and the doctors even refused to insert his name in the sick-list. Still he persisted in declaring himself to be too ill to do a single stroke of work: so on Thursday I put him into one of the sick-rooms by himself, and desired him to get well with the doors locked, which he would find to the full as easy as with the doors open; at the same time assuring him that he should never come out till he should be sufficiently recovered to cut canes in the field. He held good all Friday; but Saturday being a holiday, he declared himself to be in a perfect state of health, and desired to be released. However, I was determined to make him suffer a little for his lying and obstinacy, and would not suffer the doors to be

opened for him till this morning, when he quitted the hospital, saluted on all sides by loud huzzas in congratulation of his amended health, and which followed him during his whole progress to the cane-piece. I was informed that a lad named Epsom, who used to be perpetually running away, had been stationary for the last two years. So on Wednesday last, as he happened to come in my way, I gave him all proper commendation for having got rid of his bad habits; and to make the praise better worth his having, I added a maccarony: he was gratified in the extreme, thanked me a thousand times, promised most solemnly never to behave ill again, and ran away that very night. However, he returned on Saturday morning, and was brought to me all rags, tears, and penitence, wondering "how he could have had such *bad manners* as to make massa fret."

February 17.

Some of the free people of colour possess slaves, cattle, and other property left them by their fathers, and are in good circumstances; but few of them are industrious enough to increase their possessions by any honest exertions of their own. As to the free blacks, they are almost uniformly lazy and improvident, most of them half-starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Some lounge about the highways with pedlar-boxes stocked with various worthless baubles; others keep miserable stalls provided with rancid butter, damaged salt pork, and other such articles: and these they are always willing to exchange, for stolen rum and sugar, which they secretly tempt the negroes to pilfer from their proprietors; but few of them ever endeavour to earn their livelihood creditably. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers, are, for the most part, careless, drunken, and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain any dexterity in their trade. As to a free negro hiring himself out for plantation-labour, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica; and probably no price, however great, would be considered by them as a sufficient temptation.

February 18.

The Africans and Creoles hate each other most cordially. Yesterday, in the field, a girl who had taken some slight offence

at something said to her by a young boy, immediately struck him with the bill with which she was cutting canes. Luckily his loose wrapper saved him from the blow, and on his running away she threw the bill after him in his flight with all the fury and malice of a fiend. This same vixen, during my former visit, had been punished for fixing her teeth in the hand of one of the other girls, and nearly biting her thumb off, and on hearing of this fresh instance of devilism, I asked her mother "how she came to have so bad a daughter, when all her sons were so mild and good?" "Oh, massa," answered she, "the girl's father was a Guinea-man."

FEBRUARY 19.

Neptune came this morning to request that the name of his son, Oscar, might be changed for that of Julius, which (it seems) had been that of his own father. The child, he said, had always been weakly, and he was persuaded that its ill-health proceeded from his deceased grandfather's being displeased, because it had not been called after him. The other day, too, a woman, who had a child sick in the hospital, begged me to change its name for any other which might please me best—she cared not what; but she was sure that it would never do well so long as it should be called Lucia. Perhaps this prejudice respecting the power of names produces in some measure their unwillingness to be christened. They find no change produced in them, except the alteration of their name, and hence they conclude that this name contains in it some secret power; while, on the other hand, they conceive that the ghosts of their ancestors cannot fail to be offended at their abandoning an appellation, either hereditary in the family or given by themselves. It is another negro prejudice, that the eructation of the breath of a sucking child has something in it venomous; and frequently nursing mothers, on showing the doctor a swelled breast, will very gravely and positively attribute it to the infant's having broken wind while hanging at the nipple.

FEBRUARY 23.

The law-charges in Jamaica have lately been regulated by the House of Assembly; and, by all accounts (except that of the law-

yers), it was full time that something should be done on the subject. A case was mentioned to me of an estate litigated between several parties. At length a decision was given: the estate was sold for 16,000*l.*; but the lawyer's claim must always be the first discharged, and as this amounted to more than 16,000*l.*, the lawyer found himself in possession of the estate. This was the fable of Æsop's oyster with a vengeance.

FEBRUARY 25.

A negro, named Adam, has long been the terror of my whole estate. He was accused of being an Obeah-man; and persons notorious for the practice of Obeah, and who were afterwards convicted and transported, had been found concealed in his house. He was strongly suspected of having poisoned more than twelve negroes, men and women; and, having been displaced by my former trustee from being principal governor, in revenge he put poison into his water-jar. Luckily he was observed by one of the house-servants, who impeached him, and prevented the intended mischief. For this offence he ought to have been given up to justice; but being brother of the trustee's mistress, she found means to get him off, after undergoing a long confinement in the stocks. I found him, at my first visit, living in a state of utter excommunication: I tried what reasoning with him could effect, reconciled him to his companions, treated him with marked kindness, and he promised solemnly to behave well during my absence. However, instead in attributing my lenity to a wish to reform him, his pride and confidence in his own talents and powers of deception made him attribute the indulgence shown him to his having obtained an influence over my mind. This he determined to employ to his own purposes upon my return; so he set about forming a conspiracy against Sully, the present chief governor, and boasted, on various estates in the neighbourhood, that on my arrival he would take care to get Sully broke, and himself substituted in his place. In the meanwhile he quarrelled and fought right and left; and I now found the whole estate in an uproar about him. No less than three charges of assault, with intent to kill, were preferred against him. In a fit of jealousy he had endeavoured to strangle Marlborough with the thong of a whip, and had nearly effected his purpose before

he could be dragged away; he had knocked down Nato in some trifling dispute, and while the man was senseless had thrown him into the river to drown him; and having taken offence at a poor weak creature called Old Rachael, on meeting her by accident he struck her to the ground, beat her with a supplejack, stamped upon her belly, and begged her to be assured of his intention (as he eloquently worded it) "to kick her guts out." The breeding mothers also accused him of having been the cause of the poisoning a particular spring, from which they were in the habit of fetching water for their children, as Adam on that morning had been seen near the spring without having any business there, and he had been heard to caution his little daughter against drinking water from it that day, although he stoutly denied both circumstances. Into the bargain, my head blacksmith, being perfectly well at five o'clock, was found by his son dead in his bed at eight; and it was known that he had lately had a dispute with Adam, who on that day had made it up with him, and had invited him to drink, although it was not certain that his offer had been accepted. He had, moreover, threatened the lives of many of the best negroes. Two of the cooks declared that he had severally directed them to dress Sully's food apart, and had given them powders to mix with it. The first to whom he applied refused positively; the second he treated with liquor, and when she had drunk he gave her the poison, with instructions how to use it: being a timid creature, she did not dare to object, so threw away the powder privately, and pretended that it had been administered: but, finding no effect produced by it, Adam gave her a second powder, at the same time bidding her remember the liquor which she had swallowed, and which he assured her would effect her own destruction, through the force of Obeah, unless she prevented it by sacrificing his enemy in her stead. The poor creature still threw away the powder, but the strength of imagination brought upon her a serious malady, and it was not till after several weeks that she recovered from the effects of her fears.

The terror thus produced was universal throughout the estate, and Sully and several other principal negroes requested me to remove them to my property in St. Thomas's, as their lives were not safe while breathing the same air with Adam. However, it

appeared a more salutary measure to remove Adam himself; but all the poisoning charges either went no further than strong suspicion, or (any more than the assaults) were not liable by the laws of Jamaica to be punished, except by flogging or temporary imprisonment, which would only have returned him to the estate with increased resentment against those to whom he should ascribe his sufferings, however deserved. However, on searching his house, a musket, with a plentiful accompaniment of powder and ball, was found concealed, as also a considerable quantity of materials for the practice of Obeah: the possession of either of the above articles (if the musket is without the consent of the proprietor) authorizes the magistrates to pronounce a sentence of transportation. In consequence of this discovery, Adam was immediately committed to gaol; a slave court was summoned, and to-day a sentence of transportation from the island was pronounced, after a trial of three hours. As to the man's guilt, the jury entertained no doubt, but the difficulty was to restrain the verdict to transportation. We produced nothing which could possibly affect his life; for although perhaps no offender ever better deserved hanging, yet I confess my being weak-minded enough to entertain doubts whether hanging or other capital punishment ought to be inflicted for any offence whatever. However, although I did my best to prevent Adam from being hanged, it was no easy matter to prevent his hanging himself.

The Obeah ceremonies always commenced with what is called by the negroes the "Myal dance." This is intended to remove any doubt of the chief Obeah-man's supernatural powers; and, in the course of it, he undertakes to show his art by killing one of the persons present, whom he pitches upon for that purpose. He sprinkles various powders over the devoted victim, blows upon him, and dances round him, obliges him to drink a liquor prepared for the occasion; and, finally, the sorcerer and his assistants seize him and whirl him rapidly round and round till the man loses his senses, and falls on the ground, to all appearance and the belief of the spectators, a perfect corpse. The chief Myal-man then utters loud shrieks, rushes out of the house with wild and frantic gestures, and conceals himself in some neighbouring wood. At the end of two or three hours he returns with a large bundle of herbs, from some of which he squeezes

he juice into the mouth of the dead person; with others he points his eyes and stains the tips of his fingers; accompanying he ceremony with a great variety of grotesque actions, and hanting all the while something between a song and a howl, while the assistants, hand-in-hand, dance slowly round them in a ircle, stamping the ground loudly with their feet to keep time vith his chant. A considerable time elapses before the desired ffect is produced, but at length the corpse gradually recovers nimation, rises from the ground perfectly recovered, and the Myal dance concludes. After this proof of his power, those who vish to be revenged upon their enemies apply to the sorcerer for ome of the same powder which produced apparent death upon heir companion; and, as they never employ the means used for is recovery, of course the powder once administered never fails o be lastingly fatal. It must be superfluous to mention that he Myal-man on these occasions substitutes a poison for a arcotic.

Now, among other suspicious articles found in Adam's hut, here was a string of beads, of various sizes, shapes, and colours. rranged in a form peculiar to the performance of the Obeah-an in the Myal dance. Their use was so well known, that Adam on his trial did not even attempt to deny that they could erve for no purpose but the practice of Obeah; but he endeavoured to refute their being his own property, and with this iew he began to narrate the means by which he had become ossessed of them. He said that they belonged to Fox (a negro who was lately transported), from whom he had taken them at a Myal dance held on the estate of Dean's Valley; but as the assistants at one of these dances are by law condemned to death qually with the principal performer, the court had the humanity o interrupt his confession of having been present on such an ccasion, and thus saved him from criminating himself so deeply s to render a capital punishment inevitable. I understand that e was quite unabashed and at his ease the whole time; upon earing his sentence he only said very coolly, "Well! I can't elp it!" turned himself round and walked out of court.

This fellow was a great hypocrite. When on my arrival he ave me a letter, filled with the grossest lies respecting the rustee, and every creditable negro on the estate, he took care to

sign it by the name which he had lately received in baptism: and, in his defence at the bar, to prove his probity of character and purity of manners, he informed the court that for some time past he had been learning to read, for the sole purpose of learning the Lord's Prayer. The nick-name by which he was generally known among the negroes in this part of the country was Buonaparte, and he always appeared to exult in the appellation. Once condemned, the marshal is bound, under a heavy penalty, to see him shipped from off the island before the expiration of six weeks; and probably he will be sent to Cuba. He is a fine-looking man, between thirty and forty, square built, and of great bodily strength; and his countenance equally expresses intelligence and malignity. The sum allowed me for him is one hundred pounds currency, which is scarcely a third of his worth as a labourer, but is the highest value which a jury is permitted to award.

MARCH 1. (*Sunday.*)

Last night the negroes of Friendship took it into their ingenious heads to pay me a compliment of an extremely inconvenient nature. They thought that it would be highly proper to treat me with a nightly serenade, just by way of showing their *enjoyment* on my return; and, accordingly, a large body of them arrived at my doors about midnight, dressed out in their best clothes, and accompanied with drums, rattles, and their whole orchestra of abominable instruments, determined to pass the whole night in singing and dancing under my windows. Luckily, my negro-governors heard what was going forwards, and knowing my taste a little better than my visitors, they hastened to assure them of my being in bed and asleep, and with much difficulty persuaded them to remove into my village. Here they contented themselves with making a noise for the greatest part of the night; and the next morning, after coming up to see me at breakfast, they went away quietly. One of them only remained, to inquire particularly after Lady H——, as her mother had been her nurse, and she was very particular in her inquiries as to her health, her children, their ages and names. When she went away I gave her a plentiful provision of bread, butter, plantains, and cold ham from the breakfast-table, part of which she sat down to eat,

intending, as she said, to carry the rest to her piccaniny at home. But, in half an hour after, she made her appearance again, saying she was come to take leave of me, and hoped I would give her a *bit* to buy tobacco. I gave her a maccaroni, which occasioned a great squall of delight. Oh! since I had given her so much, she would not buy tobacco, but a fowl; and then, when I returned, she would bring me a chicken from it for my dinner; that is, if she could keep the other negroes from stealing it from her—a piece of extraordinary good luck of which she seemed to entertain but slender hopes. At length off she set; but she had scarcely gone above ten yards from the house when she turned back, and was soon at my writing-table once more, with a "Well! here me come to massa again!" So then she said that she had meant to eat part of the provisions which I had given her, and carry home the rest to her boy; but that really it was so good she could not help going on eating and eating till she had eaten the whole, and now she wanted another bit of cold ham to carry home to her child, and then she should go away perfectly contented. I ordered Cubina to give her a great hunch of it, and Mrs. Phillis at length took her departure for good and all.

March 4.

I set out to visit my estate in St. Thomas's in the East, called Hordley. It is at the very furthest extremity of the island, and never was there such a journey. Something disagreeable happened at every step. My accidents commenced before I had accomplished ten miles from my own house; for in passing along a narrow shelf of rock which overhangs the sea near Blue-fields, a pair of young blood-horses in my carriage took fright at the roaring of the waves which dashed violently against them, and twice nearly overturned me. On the second occasion one of them actually fell down into the water, while the off-wheel flew up into the air, and the curricle remained suspended, balancing backwards and forwards, like Mahomet's coffin. Luckily, time was allowed the horse to recover his legs; down came the wheel once more on terra firma, and on we went again. We slept at Cashew (an estate near Lacovia), and the next morning at daylight proceeded to climb the Bogr, a mountain so difficult of ascent that every one had pronounced the attempt to be hopeless

with horses so young as mine; but those horses were my only ones, and therefore I was obliged to make the trial. The road is bordered by tremendous precipices for about twelve miles; the path is so narrow that a servant must always be sent on before to make any carts, which may be descending, stop in recesses hollowed out for this express purpose; and the cartmen are obliged to sound their shells repeatedly, in order to give each other timely warning. The chief danger, however, proceeds from the steepness of the road, which in some places will not permit the waggons to stop, however well their conductors may be inclined; then down they come, drawn by twelve or fourteen, or sometimes sixteen oxen, sweeping everything before them; and any carriage unlucky enough to find itself in their course must infallibly be dashed over the precipice. To-day, it really appeared as if all the estates in the island had agreed to send their produce by this particular road; the shells formed a complete chorus, and sounded incessantly during our whole passage of the mountain; and at one time there was a very numerous accumulation of carts and oxen, in consequence of my carriage coming to a complete stop. As we were ascending,—"It is very well," said Mr. Hill, who was travelling with me, "that we did not come by this road three months sooner. I remember about that time travelling it on horseback, and an enormous tree had fallen over the path, and hung so low that a chaise with a canopy could not have passed; but, of course, the obstacle must now be removed: if I remember right, this must have been the very spot..... and, as I hope to live, yonder is the very tree still!" And so it proved: although three months had elapsed, the impediment had been suffered to remain in unmolested possession of the road, and to pass my carriage under it proved an absolute impossibility. After much discussion, and many fruitless attempts, we at length succeeded in unscrewing the wheels, lifting off the body, which we carried along, and then built the curricle up again on the opposite side of the tree. However, by one means or other, we found ourselves at the bottom of the mountain; but the fatal tree, and the delay occasioned by taking unavoidable shelter from tremendous storms of rain, had cost us so much time that night surprised us when we were still eight miles distant from our destined inn. The night was dark as night could be; no moon, no stars, nor any light except the

flashing of myriads of fire-flies, which, flapping in the faces of the young horses, frightened them and made them rear. The road, too, was full of water-trenches, precipices, and deep and dangerous holes. As to the ground, it was quite invisible, and we had no means of proceeding with any chance of safety except by making some of the servants lead the horses, while others went before us to explore the way, while they cried out at every moment, "Take care; a little to the left, or you will slip into that water-trench—a little to the right, or you will tumble over that precipice." Into the bargain, there was neither inn nor gentleman's house within reach; and thus we proceeded crawling along at a foot's pace for five wretched miles, when we at length stopped to beg a shelter for the night at a small estate called Porous. By this time it was midnight—all the family was gone to bed—the gates were all locked; and before we could obtain admittance a full hour elapsed, during which I sat in an open carriage, perspiration streaming down from my head to my feet, through vexation, impatience, and fatigue, while the night-dew fell heavy and the night-breeze blew keen; which (as I had frequently been assured) was the very best recipe possible for getting a Jamaica fever. On such I counted, both for myself and my white servant, when I at length laid myself down in a bed at Porous; but, to my equal surprise and satisfaction, we both rose the next morning without feeling the slightest inconvenience. On Friday, the 5th, I reached Spanish Town; and the next night slept at Kingston.

MARCH 8. (*Sunday.*)

I resumed my journey; but my horses were so completely knocked up that I was obliged to hire an additional pair to convey me to Miss Hetley's inn, on the other side of the Yallacks River, which is nineteen miles from Kingston. This river, as well as that of Morant (which I passed about ten miles further), both in breadth and strength, sets all bridges at defiance; and in the rainy season it is sometimes impassable for several weeks. On this occasion there was but little water in either, and I arrived without difficulty at Port Morant, where I found horses sent by my trustee to convey me to Hordley. The road led up to the mountains, and was one of the steepest, roughest, and most

fatiguing that I ever travelled—in spite of its picturesque beauties.

At length I reached my journey's end, jaded and wearied to death: here I expected to find a perfect paradise, and I found a perfect hell. Report had assured me that Hordley was the best-managed estate in the island; and, as far as the soil was concerned, report appeared to have said true: but my trustee had also assured me that my negroes were the most contented and best-disposed, and here there was a lamentable incorrectness in the account. I found them in a perfect uproar; complaints of all kinds stunned me from all quarters: all the blacks accused all the whites, and all the whites accused all the blacks; and, as far as I could make out, both parties were extremely in the right. There was no attachment to the soil to be found *here;* the negroes declared, one and all, that if I went away and left them to groan under the same system of oppression without appeal or hope of redress, they would follow my carriage and establish themselves at Cornwall. I had soon discovered enough to be certain that, although they told me plenty of falsehoods, many of their complains were but too well founded; and yet how to protect them for the future, or satisfy them for the present, was no easy matter to decide. Trusting to these fallacious reports of the Arcadian state of happiness upon Hordley, I had supposed that I should have nothing to do there but grant a few indulgences, and establish the regulations already adopted with success on Cornwall; distribute a little money, and allow a couple of play-days for dancing: and under this persuasion I had made it quite impossible for me to remain above a week at Hordley, which I conceived to be fully sufficient for the above purpose. As to grievances to be redressed, I was totally unprepared for any such necessity; yet now they poured in upon me incessantly, each more serious than the former; and before twenty-four hours were elapsed I had been assured that, in order to produce any sort of tranquillity upon the estate, I must begin by displacing the trustee, the physician, the four white book-keepers, and the four black governors; all of whom I was modestly required to remove, and provide better substitutes, in the space of five days and a morning. What with the general clamour, the assertions and denials, the tears and the passion, the odious falsehoods, and the

still more odious truths, and (worst of all to me) my own vexation and disappointment at finding things so different from my expectations, my brain was nearly turned, and I felt strongly tempted to set off as fast as I could, and leave all these black and white devils to tear one another to pieces—an amusement in which they appeared to be perfectly ready to indulge themselves. It was, however, considerable relief to me to find, upon examination, that no act of personal ill-treatment was alleged against the trustee himself, who was allowed to be sufficiently humane in his own nature, and was only complained of for allowing the negroes to be maltreated by the book-keepers, and other inferior agents, with absolute impunity. Being an excellent planter, he confined his attention entirely to the cultivation of the soil, and when the negroes came to complain of some act of cruelty or oppression committed by the book-keepers or the black governors, he refused to listen to them, and left their complaints uninquired into, and consequently unredressed. The result was, that the negroes were worse off than if he had been a cruel man himself; for his cruelty would have given them only one tyrant, whereas his indolence left them at the mercy of eight. Still they said that they would be well contented to have him continue their trustee, provided that I would appoint some protector, to whom they might appeal in cases of injustice and ill-usage. The trustee declaring himself well satisfied that some such appointment should take place, a neighbouring gentleman (whose humanity to his own negroes had established him in high favour with mine) was selected for this purpose. I next ordered one of the book-keepers (of the atrocious brutality of whose conduct the trustee himself, upon examination, allowed that there could be no doubt) to quit the estate in two hours, under pain of prosecution: away went the man, and when I arose the next morning, another book-keeper had taken himself off of his own accord, and that in so much haste that he left all his clothes behind him.

My next step was to displace the chief black governor, a man deservedly odious to the negroes, and whom a gross and insolent lie told to myself enabled me to punish without seeming to displace him in compliance with their complaints against him: and these sources of discontent being removed, I read to them my regulations for allowing them new holidays, additional allow-

ances of salt-fish, rum, and sugar, with a variety of other indulgences and measures taken for protection, &c. All which, assisted by a couple of dances and distribution of money on the day of my departure, had such an effect upon their tempers that I left them in as good humour, apparently, as I found them in bad.

But to leave them was no such easy matter; the weather had been bad from the time of my commencing my journey, but from the moment of my reaching Hordley it became abominable. —the rain poured down in cataracts incessantly. The old crazy house stands on the top of a hill, and the north wind howled round it night and day, shaking it from top to bottom, and threatening to become a hurricane. The storm was provided with a very suitable accompaniment of thunder and lightning: and, to complete the business, down came the mountain-torrents, and swelled Plantain-Garden River to such a degree that it broke down the dam-head, stopped the mill, and all work was at a stand-still for two days and nights. But the worst of all was that this same river lay between me and Kingston: bridge there was none, and it soon became utterly impassable. Thus it continued for four days; on the fifth (the day which I had appointed for my departure, and on which I gave the negroes a parting holiday) the water appeared to be somewhat abated at a ford about four miles distant; for as to crossing at my own, that was quite out of the question for a week at least. A negro was despatched on horseback to ascertain the height of the water; his report was very unfavourable. However, as at worst I could but return, and had no better means of employing my time, I resolved to make the experiment. About forty of the youngest and strongest negroes left their dancing and drinking, and ran on foot to see me safe over the water. The few hours which had elapsed since my messenger's examination had operated very favourably towards the reduction of the water, although it was still very high. But, by a servant going before to ascertain the least dangerous passage, and the negroes rushing all into river to break the force of the stream, and support the carriage on both sides, we were enabled to struggle to the opposite bank, and were landed in safety, amidst loud cheering from my sable attendants, who then left me, many with tears running down

their cheeks, and all with thanks for the protection which I had shown them, and earnest entreaties that I would come to visit them another time. Whether my visit will have been productive of essential service to them, must remain a doubt; the trustee at least promised me most solemnly that my regulations for their happiness and security should be obeyed; and that the slave-laws (of which I had detected, beyond a doubt, some very flagrant violations) should be carried into effect, for the future, with the most scrupulous exactness. If he breaks his promise, and I discover it, I have pledged myself most solemnly to remove him, however great may be his merits as a planter; if he contrives to keep me in ignorance of his proceedings (which, however, from the precautions which I have now taken, I trust will be no easy matter), and the state of the negroes should continue after my departure to be what it was before my arrival, then I can only console myself with thinking that the guilt is his, not mine; and that it is on *his* head that the curse of the sufferers and the vengeance of heaven will fall, not on my own. I have been told that this estate of mine is one of the most beautiful in the island. It may be so, for anything that I can tell of the matter. The badness of the weather, and the disquietude of my mind, during the whole of my short stay, made everything look gloomy and hideous; and when I once found myself again beyond my own limits, I felt my spirits lighter by a hundred weight.

Of all the points which had displeased me at Hordley, none had made me more angry for the time than the lie told me by the chief governor, which occasioned my displacing him. This fellow, who for the credit of our family (no doubt) had got himself christened by the name of John Lewis, had the impudence to walk into my parlour just as I was preparing to go to bed, and inform me that he could not get the business of the estate done. Why not? He could get nobody to come to the night-work at the mill, which he supposed was the consequence of my indulging the negroes so much. Indeed! and where were the people who ought to come to their night-work? In the negro village? No; they were in the hospital, and refused to come out to work. Upon which I blazed up like a barrel of gunpowder, and asked him whether any person really had been insolent enough to select a whole night-party from the sick people

in the hospital, not one of whom ought to stir out of it till well? There stood the fellow, trembling and stammering, and unable to get out an answer, while I stamped up and down the piazza, storming and swearing, banging all the doors till the house seemed ready to tumble about our ears, and doing my best to out-Herod Herod, till at last I ordered the man to be gone that instant, and get the work done properly. He did not wait to be told twice, and was off in a twinkling. In a quarter of an hour I sent for him again, and inquired whether he had succeeded in getting the proper people to work at the mill? Upon which he had the assurance to answer, that all the people were there, and that it was not of their not being at the mill that he had meant to complain. Of what was it then? "Of their not being in the field." When? "Yesterday. He could not get the negroes to work, and so there had been none done all day." And who refused to come? "All the people." But who? "All." But who, who, who?—their names? "He could not remember them all." Name one. "There was Beck." And who else? "There was Sally." And who else? "There was .... there was Beck." But who else? "Beck .... and Sally" ... But who else? who else? "Little Edward had gone out of the hospital, and had not come to work." Well! Beck and Sally, and little Edward; who else? "Beck, and little Edward, and Sally." But who else: I say, who else? "He could not remember anybody else." Upon which I put myself into a most imperial passion. "Why, you most impudent of all impudent fellows that ever told a lie, have you really presumed to disturb me at this time of night to tell me that you can't get the business done, and that none of the people would come to work, and all because two old women and a little boy missed coming into the field yesterday!" Down dropped the fellow in a moment upon his marrow-bones: "Oh, me good massa," cried he (and out came the truth, which I knew well enough before he told me), "me no come of my own head; me *ordered* to come; but me never tell massa lie more, so me pray him forgib me!" But his obeying any person on my own estate in preference to me, and suffering himself to be converted into an instrument of my annoyance, was not to be easily overlooked, so I turned him out of the house, and the next morning degraded him to the rank of a

common field-negro. The trustee pleaded hard for his being permitted to return to the waggons, where he would be useful. But I was obdurate. Then came his wife to beg for him, and then his mother, and then his cousin, and then his cousin's cousin; still I was firm: till on the day of my departure the new chief governor came to me in the name of the whole estate, and begged me to allow John Lewis to return to the command of the waggons, "for that all the negroes said that it would be *too sad a thing* for them to see a man who had held the highest place among them degraded quite to be a common field-negro." There was something in this appeal which argued so good a feeling, that I did not think it right to resist any longer; so I hinted that if the trustee should ask it again as a favour to himself, I might perhaps relent; and the proper application being thus made, John Lewis was allowed to quit the field, but with a positive injunction against his ever being employed again in any office of authority over the negroes.

I found baptism in high vogue upon Hordley, but I am sorry to say, that I could not discover much effect produced upon their minds by having been made Christians, except in one particular: whenever one of them told me a monstrous lie (and they told me whole dozens), he never failed to conclude his story by saying, "And now, massa, you know I've been christened, and if you do not believe what I say, I'm ready to *buss the book* to the truth of it." The whole advantages to be derived by negroes from becoming Christians seemed to consist with them in two points: being a superior species of magic itself, it preserved them from black Obeah; and by enabling them to take an oath upon the Bible to the truth of any lie which it might suit them to tell, they believed that it would give them the power of humbugging the white people with perfect ease and convenience. They had observed the importance attached by the whites to such an attestation, and the conviction which it always appeared to carry with it; as to the crime or penalty of perjury, of that they were totally ignorant, or at least indifferent; therefore they were perfectly ready to "buss the book," which they considered as a piece of buckra superstition, mighty useful to the negroes, and cared nothing taking their oath upon the Bible to a lie.

MARCH 15. (*Sunday.*)

Although I set out from Hordley at two o'clock, it was past seven before I reached an estate called "The Retreat," which was only twelve miles off, so abominable was the road. Here I stopped for the night, which I passed at supper with the musquitoes—"not where I ate, but where I was eaten." Morant River had been swelled by the late heavy rains to a tremendous height, and its numerous quicksands render the passage in such a state extremely dangerous. However, a negro having been sent early to explore it, and having returned with a favourable report, we proceeded to encounter it. A Hordley negro well acquainted with these perilous rivers had accompanied me for the express purpose of pointing out the most practicable fords: but for some time his efforts to find a safe one were unavailing, his horse at the end of a minute or two plunging into a quicksand or some deep hole, among the waters thrown up from which he totally disappeared for a moment, and then was seen to struggle out again with such an effort and leap, as were quite beyond the capability of any carriage's attempting. However, at the end of half an hour he was fortunate to find a place where he could cross (up to his horse's belly in the water, to be sure), but at least without tumbling into holes and quicksands; and here we set out, conscious that our whole chance of reaching the opposite shore consisted in keeping precisely the path which he had gone already, and determined to stick as close as possible to his horse's tail. But no sooner were we fairly in the water than my young horses found themselves unable to resist the strength and rapidity of the torrent, which was rolling down huge stones as big as rocks from the mountain; and to my utter consternation I perceived the curricle carried down the stream, and the distance from my guide (who by swimming his horse had reached the destined landing-place in safety) growing wider and wider with every moment. We were now driving at all hazards; every moment I expected to see a horse or a wheel sink down into some deep hole, the chaise overturned, and ourselves either swallowed up in a quicksand or dashed to pieces against the stones which were rolling around us. I never remember to have felt myself so completely convinced of approaching destruction, and

I roared out with all my might and main, "We are carried away! all is over!" although to be sure, I might as well have held my tongue, seeing that all my roaring could not do the least possible good. However, my horses, although too weak to resist the current, were fortunately strong enough to keep their legs; while they drifted down the stream they struggled along in an oblique direction, which gradually (though but slowly) brought us nearer to the opposite shore; and after several minutes passed in most painful anxiety, a desperate plunge out of the water enabled them to *jump* the carriage upon terra firma on the same side with my guide, although at a considerable distance from the spot where he had landed.

The Yallack River was less dangerous; but even this too had been sufficiently swelled to make the crossing it no easy matter; so that what with one obstacle and another, when I reached Kingston at six o'clock with my bones and my vehicle unbroken, I was almost as much surprised as satisfied. I dined with the curate of Kingston, the Rev. G. Hill, where I met the admiral upon this station, Sir Home Popham, and a large party.

March 16.

I reached Spanish Town in time to dine with the chief justice (Mr. Jackson), and intended to remain there two or three days longer; but the next morning my landlady just hinted that "she thought it right to let me know, that to be sure there *was* a gentleman unwell in the house; but she supposed that I should not care about it: however, if I particularly disliked the neighbourhood of a sick person, she would procure me lodgings." I asked "what was the complaint?" "Oh! he was a little sick, that was all." To which I only could answer, that "in that case I hoped he would get better," and thought no more about it. However, when I went to visit the governor, I found that this "little sickness" of my landlady's was neither more nor less than the yellow fever, of which the gentleman in question was now dying, of which a lady had died only two days before, and of which another European, newly arrived, had fallen ill in this very same hotel only a fortnight before, and had died, after throwing himself out of an upper window in a fit of delirium. Under all these circumstances I thought it to the full as prudent

not to prolong my stay; and accordingly, on Wednesday the 18th, I resumed my journey homewards, by the north side of the island, the road which I had travelled two years ago. I have nothing to add to my former account of it, except that there need not be better inns anywhere than the Wellington Hotel at Rio Bueno, and Judy James's at Montego Bay. Indeed, all the inns upon this road are excellent, with the solitary exception of the Blackheath Tavern, which I stopped at by mistake. At this most miserable of all inns that ever entrapped an unwary traveller, there was literally nothing to be procured for love or money: no corn for the horses; no wine without sending six miles for it; no food but a miserable starved fowl, so tough that the very negroes could not eat it; and a couple of eggs, one of which was addled: there was but one pair of sheets in the whole house, and neither candles, nor oranges, nor pepper, nor vinegar, nor bread, nor even so much as sugar, white or brown. Yams there were, which prevented my servants from going to bed quite famished, and I contented myself with the far-fetched bottle of wine and the solitary egg, which I ate by the light of a lamp filled with stinking oil. The one pair of sheets I seized upon as my own share, and my servants made themselves as good beds as they could upon the floor with great-coats and travelling mantles.

MARCH 22. (*Sunday.*)

I was very glad to find myself once more quietly established at Cornwall, fully determined to leave it no more till I leave it on my return to England. The lady who had died so lately at Kingston had arrived not long before in a vessel, both the crew and passengers of which landed, to all appearance, in perfect health, after a favourable passage from England. Of course, they soon dispersed in different directions; yet almost all of them were attacked nearly at the same period by the fever, which seemed to have a particular commission to search out the persons that had arrived by that particular ship.

MARCH 31.

I am more and more convinced every day, that the best and easiest mode of governing negroes is not by the detestable lash,

but by confinement, solitary or otherwise; they cannot bear it, and the memory of it seems to make a lasting impression upon their minds; while the lash makes none but upon their skins, and lasts no longer than the mark. The order at my hospital is, that no negro should be denied admittance: even if no symptoms of illness appear, he is allowed one day to rest, and take physic, if he choose it. On the second morning, if the physician declare the man to be shamming, and the plea of illness is still alleged, the negro is locked up in a room with others similarly circumstanced, where care is taken to supply him with food, water, physic, &c., and no restraint is imposed except that of not going out. Here he is suffered to remain unmolested as long as he pleases, and he is only allowed to leave the hospital upon his own declaration that he is well enough to go to work; then the door is opened, and he walks away unreproached and unpunished, however evident his deception may have been. Before I adopted this regulation, the number of patients used to vary from thirty to forty-five, not more than a dozen of whom perhaps had anything the matter with them: the number at this moment is but fourteen, and all are sores, burns, or complaints, the reality of which speaks for itself. Some few persevering tricksters will still submit to be locked up for a day or two; but their patience never fails to be wearied out by the fourth morning, and I have not yet met with an instance of a patient who had once been locked up with a fictitious illness, returning to the hospital except with a real one. In general, they offer to take a day's rest and physic, promising to go out to work the next day, and on these occasions they have uniformly kept their word. Indeed, my hospital is now in such good order, that the physician told the trustee the other day that "mine gave him less trouble than any hospital in the parish." My boilers, too, who used to make sugar the colour of mahogany, are now making excellent sugar; and certainly, if appearances may be trusted, and things will but last, I may flatter myself with the complete success of my system of management, as far as the time elapsed is sufficient to warrant an opinion. I only wish from my soul that I were but half as certain of the good treatment and good behaviour of the negroes at Hordley.

April 5. (*Sunday.*)

Clearing their grounds by fire is a very expeditious proceeding, consequently in much practice among the negroes; but in this tindery country it is extremely dangerous, and is forbidden by the law. As I returned home to-day from church, I observed a large smoke at no great distance, and Cubina told me, he supposed that the negroes of the neighbouring estate of Amity were clearing their grounds. "Then they are doing a very wrong thing," said I; "I hope they will fire nothing else but their grounds, for with so strong a breeze a great deal of mischief might be done." However, in half an hour it proved that the smoke in question arose from my own negro-grounds, that the fire had spread itself, and I could see from my window the flames and smoke pouring themselves upwards in large volumes, while the crackling of the dry bushes and brush-wood was something perfectly terrific. The alarm was instantly given, and whites and blacks all hurried to the scene of action. Luckily, the breeze set the contrary way from the plantations; a morass interposed itself between the blazing ground and one of my best cane-pieces: the flames were suffered to burn till they reached the brink of the water, and then the negroes managed to extinguish them without much difficulty. Thus we escaped without injury, but I own I was heartily frightened.

April 9.

I had mentioned to Mr. Shand my having found a woman at Hordley, who had been crippled for life, in consequence of her having been kicked in the womb by one of the book-keepers. He writes to me on this subject:—"I trust that conduct so savage occurs rarely in *any* country. I can only say, that in my long experience nothing of the kind has ever fallen under my observation." Now although I have not passed six months in Jamaica, I have already found on one of my estates a woman who had been kicked in the womb by a white book-keeper, by which she was crippled, and on another of my estates another woman who had been similarly kicked by another white book-keeper, by which he had crippled the child: and thus, as my two estates are at the two extremities of the island, I am entitled

to say that "white book-keepers kick black women in the belly *from one end of Jamaica to the other.*"

April 22.

Naturalists and physicians, philosophers and philanthropists, may argue and decide as they please; but certainly, as far as mere observation admits of my judging, there does seem to be a very great difference between the brain of a black person and a white one. I should think that Voltaire would call a negro's reason "une raison très-particulière." Somehow or other, they never can manage to do anything *quite* as it should be done. If they correct themselves in one respect to-day they are sure of making a blunder in some other manner to-morrow. Cubina is now twenty-five, and has all his life been employed about the stable; he goes out with my carriage twice every day; yet he has never yet been able to succeed in putting on the harness properly. Before we have proceeded a hundred yards we are certain of being obliged to stop, and put something or other to rights: and I once laboured for more than half an hour to make him understand that the Christmas-holidays came at Christmas; when asked the question, he always hesitated, and answered, at hap-hazard "July" or "October." Yet, Cubina is far superior in intellect to most of the negroes who have fallen under my observation. The girl too, whose business it is to open the house each morning, has in vain been desired to unclose all the jalousies: she never fails to leave three or four closed, and when she is scolded for doing so, she takes care to open those three the next morning, and leaves three shut on the opposite side.

Indeed, the attempt to make them correct a fault is quite fruitless: they never can do the same thing a second time in the same manner; and if the cook having succeeded in dressing a dish well is desired to dress just such another, she is certain of doing something which makes it quite different. One day I desired that there might be always a piece of salt meat at dinner, in order that I might be certain of always having enough to send to the sick in the hospital. In consequence of this there was nothing at dinner but salt meat. I complained that there was not a single fresh dish, and the next day, there was nothing but fresh. Sometimes there is scarcely anything served up, and

the cook seems to have forgotten the dinner altogether: she is told of it; and the next day she slaughters without mercy pigs, sheep, fowls, ducks, turkeys, and everything that she can lay her murderous hands upon, till the table absolutely groans under the load of her labours.

For above a month Cubina and I had perpetual quarrels about the cats being shut into the gallery at nights, where they threw down plates, glasses, and crockery of all kinds, and made such a clatter that to get a wink of sleep was quite out of the question. Cubina, before he went to rest, hunted under all the beds and sofas, and laid about him with a long whip for half an hour together; but in half an hour after his departure the cats were at work again. He was then told that although he had turned them out, he must certainly have left some window open: he promised to pay particular attention to this point, but that night the uproar was worse than ever; yet he protested that he had carefully turned out all the cats, locked all the doors, and shut all the windows. He was told, that if he had really turned out all the cats, the cats must have got in again, and therefore that he must have left some one window open at least. "No," he said, "he had not left one; but a pane in one of the windows had been broken two months before, and it was there that the cats got in whenever they pleased." Yet he had continued to turn the cats out of the door with the greatest care, although he was perfectly conscious that they could always walk in again at the window in five minutes after.

But the most curious of Cubina's modes of proceeding is, when it is necessary for him to attack the pigeon-house. He steals up the ladder as slily and as softly as foot can fall; he opens the door, and steals in his head with the utmost caution; on which, to his never-failing surprise and disappointment, all the pigeons make their escape through the open holes; he has now no resource but entering the dove-cot, and remaining there with unwearied patience for the accidental return of the birds, which nine times out of ten does not take place till too late for dinner, and Cubina returns empty-handed. Having observed this proceeding constantly during a fortnight, I took pity upon his embarrassment, and ordered two wooden sliders to be fitted to the holes. Cubina was delighted with this exquisite inven-

tion, and failed not the next morning to close all the holes on the right with one of the sliders; he then stepped boldly into the dove-cot, when to his utter confusion the pigeons flew away through the holes on the left. Here then he discovered where the fault lay, so he lost no time in closing the remaining aperture with the second slider, and the pigeons were thus prevented from returning at all. Cubina waited long with exemplary patience, but without success, so he abandoned the new invention in despair, made no farther use of the sliders, and continues to steal up the ladder as he did before.

A few days ago, Nicholas, a mulatto carpenter, was ordered to make a box for the conveyance of four jars of sweetmeats, of which he took previous measure; yet in the first instance he made a box so small that it would scarcely hold a single jar, and then another so large that it would have held twenty; and when at length he produced one of a proper size, he brought it nailed up for travelling (although it was completely empty), and nailed up so effectually too, that on being directed to open it that the jars might be packed, he split the cover to pieces in the attempt to take it off. Yet, among all my negroes, few are equal to Nicholas and Cubina in adroitness and intelligence. Judge then what must the remaining three hundred be!

April 23.

In my medical capacity I sometimes perform cures so unexpected, that I stand like Katterfelto, "with my hair standing on end at my own wonders." Last night, Alexander, the second governor, who has been seriously ill for some days, sent me word, that he was suffering cruelly from a pain in his head, and could get no sleep. I knew not how to relieve him; but having frequently observed a violent passion for perfumes in the house negroes, for want of something else I gave the doctoress some oil of lavender, and told her to rub two or three drops upon his nostrils. This morning, he told me that "to be sure what I had sent him was a grand medicine indeed," for it had no sooner touched his nose than he felt something cold run up to his forehead, over his head, and all the way down his neck to the backbone; instantly, the headache left him, he fell fast asleep, nor had the pain returned in the morning. But I am afraid, that

even this wonderful oil would fail of curing a complaint upon which I have just been consulted. A poor old creature, named Quasheba, made her appearance at my breakfast-table, and told me, "that she was almost eighty, had been rather weakly for some time past, and somehow she did not feel by any means right." "Had she seen the doctor? Did she want physic?" "No, she had taken too much physic already, and the doctor would do her no good; she did not want to see the doctor." "But what then was her complaint?" "Oh! she had no particular complaint; only she was old and weakly, and did not find herself by any means so well as she used to be, and so she came just to tell massa, and see what he could do to make her quite right again, that was all." In short, she *only* wanted me to make her young again!

April 30.

A free mulatto of the name of Rolph had frequently been mentioned to me by different magistrates, as remarkable for the numerous complaints brought against him for cruel treatment of his negroes. He was the son of a white ploughman, who at his death left him six or seven slaves, with whom he resides in the heart of the mountains, where the remoteness of the situation secures him from observation or control. His slaves, indeed, every now and then contrive to escape, and come down to Savannah la Mar to lodge their complaints; but the magistrates, hitherto, had never been able to get a legal hold upon him. However, a few days ago, he entered the house of a Mrs. Edgins, when she was from home, and behaving in an outrageous manner to her slaves, he was desired by the head-man to go away. Highly incensed, he answered, "that if the fellow dared to speak another word, it should be the last that he should ever utter." The negro dared to make a rejoinder; upon which Rolph aimed a blow at him with a stick, which missed his intended victim, but struck another slave who was interposing to prevent a scuffle, and killed him upon the spot. The murder was committed in the presence of several negroes; but negroes are not allowed to give evidence, and as no free person was present, there are not only doubts whether the murderer will be punished, but whether he can even be put upon his trial.

MAY 1.

This morning I signed the manumission of Nicholas Cameron, the best of my mulatto carpenters. He had been so often on the very point of getting his liberty, and still the cup was dashed from his lips, that I had promised to set him free, whenever he could procure an able negro as his substitute; although being a good workman, a single negro was by no means an adequate price in exchange. On my arrival this year I found that he had agreed to pay 150*l.* for a female negro, and the woman was approved of by my trustee. But on inquiry it appeared that she had a child, from which she was unwilling to part; and her owner refused to sell the child, except at a most unreasonable price. Here then was an insurmountable objection, and Nicholas was told, to his great mortification, that he must look out for another substitute. The woman, on her part, was determined to belong to Cornwall estate and no other: so she told her owner, that if he attempted to sell her elsewhere she would make away with herself, and on his ordering her to prepare for a removal to a neighbouring proprietor's, she disappeared, and concealed herself so well, that for some time she was believed to have put her threats of suicide into execution. The idea of losing his 150*l.* frightened her master so completely that he declared himself ready to let me have the child at a fair price, as well as the mother, if she ever should be found; and her friends having conveyed this assurance to her, she thought proper to emerge from her hiding-place, and the bargain was arranged finally. The titles, however, were not yet made out, and as the time of my departure for Hordley was arrived, these were ordered to be got ready against my return, when the negroes were to be delivered over to me, and Nicholas was to be set free. In the meanwhile the child was sent by her mistress (a free mulatto) to hide some stolen ducks upon a distant property, and on her return blabbed out the errand: in consequence the mistress was committed to prison for theft; and no sooner was she released, than she revenged herself upon the poor girl by giving her thirty lashes with the cattle-whip, inflicted with all the severity of vindictive malice. This treatment of a child of such tender years reduced her to such a state, as made the

magistrates think it right to send her for protection to the workhouse, until the conduct of the mistress should have been inquired into. In the meanwhile, as the result of the inquiry might be the setting the girl at liberty, the joint title for her and her mother could not be made out, and thus poor Nicholas's manumission was again at a stand-still. The magistrates at length decided, that although the chastisement had been severe, yet (according to the medical report) it was not such as to authorise the sending the mistress to be tried at the assizes. She was accordingly dismissed from farther investigation, and the girl was once more considered as belonging to me, as soon as the title could be made out. But the fatality which had so often prevented Nicholas from obtaining his freedom, was not weary yet. On the very morning when he was to sign the title, a person whose signature was indispensable, was thrown out of his chaise, the wheel of which passed over his head, and he was rendered incapable of transacting business for several weeks. Yesterday the titles were at length brought to me complete, and this morning put Nicholas in possession of the object, in the pursuit of which he has experienced such repeated disappointments.

The conduct of the poor child's mulatto mistress in this case was most unpardonable, and is only one of numerous instances of a similar description, which have been mentioned to me. Indeed, I have every reason to believe that nothing can be uniformly more wretched than the life of the slaves of free people of colour in Jamaica; nor would any thing contribute more to the relief of the black population than the prohibiting by law any mulatto to become the owner of a slave for the future. Why should not rich people of colour be served by poor people of colour, hiring them as domestics? It seldom happens that mulattoes are in possession of plantations; but when a white man dies, who happens to possess twenty negroes, he will divide them among his brown family, leaving, perhaps, five to each of his four children. These are too few to be employed in plantation work; they have, therefore, to maintain their owner by some means or other, and which means are frequently not the most honest, the most frequent being the travelling about as higglers, and exchanging the trumpery contents of their packs

and boxes with plantation negroes for stolen rum and sugar. I confess I cannot see why, on such bequest being made, the law should not order the negroes to be sold, and the produce of the sale paid to the mulatto heirs, but absolutely prohibiting the mulattoes from becoming proprietors of the negroes themselves.

Every man of humanity must wish that slavery, even in its best and most mitigated form, had never found a legal sanction, and must regret that its system is now so incorporated with the welfare of Great Britain as well as of Jamaica, as to make its extirpation an absolute impossibility, without the certainty of producing worse mischiefs than the one which we annihilate. But certainly there can be no sort of occasion for continuing in the colonies the existence of *domestic slavery*, which neither contributes to the security of the colonies themselves, nor to the opulence of the mother-country, the revenue of which derived from colonial duties would suffer no defalcation whatever, even if neither whites nor blacks in the West Indies were suffered to employ slaves, except in plantation labour.

MAY 2.

I gave my negroes a farewell holiday, on which occasion each grown-up person received a present of half-a-dollar, and every child a maccaroni. In return, they expressed their sorrow for my departure by eating and drinking, dancing and singing, with more vehemence and perseverance than on any former occasion. As in all probability many years will elapse without my making them another visit, if indeed I should ever return at all, I have exerted myself while here to do everything which appeared likely to contribute to their welfare and security during my absence. In particular, my attorney has made out a list of all such offences as are most usually committed on plantations, to which proportionate punishments have been affixed by myself. From this code of internal regulations the overseer is not to be allowed to deviate, and the attorney has pledged himself in the most solemn manner to adhere strictly to the system laid down for him. By this means the negroes will no longer be punished according to the momentary caprice of their superintendent, but by known and fixed laws, the one no more than the other, and without respect to partiality or prejudice. Hitherto, in everything which had not been previously determined by the public law, with a

penalty attached to the breach of it, the negro has been left entirely at the mercy of the overseer, who, if he was a humane man, punished him slightly, and if a tyrant, heavily; nay, very often the quantity of punishment depended upon the time of day when the offence was made known. If accused in the morning, when the overseer was in cold blood and in good humour, a night's confinement in the stocks might be deemed sufficient; whereas, if the charge was brought when the superior had taken his full proportion of grog or sangaree, the very same offence would be visited with thirty-nine lashes.

I have, moreover, taken care to settle all disputes respecting property, having caused all negroes having claims upon others to bring them before me previous to my departure, and directed, that from that time forth no such claim should be inquired into, but considered as definitively settled by my authority. It would have done the Lord Chancellor's heart good to see how many suits I determined in the course of a week, and with what expedition I made a clear court of chancery. But perhaps the most astonishing part of the whole business was, that after judgment was pronounced, the losers as well as the gainers declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the justice of the sentence. I must acknowledge, however, that the negro principle that "massa can do no wrong," was of some little assistance to me on this occasion. "Oh! quite just, me good massa! what massa say, quite just! me no say nothing more; me good massa!" Then they thanked me "for massa's goodness in giving them so long talk!" and went away to tell all the others "how just massa had been in taking away what they wanted to keep, or not giving them what they asked for." It must be owned that this is not the usual mode of proceeding after the loss of a chancery suit in England. But to do the negroes mere justice, I must say, that I could not have wished to find a more tractable set of people on almost every occasion. Some lazy and obstinate persons, of course, there must inevitably be in so great a number; but in general I found them excellently disposed, and being once thoroughly convinced of my real good-will towards them, they took it for granted that my regulations must be right and beneficial, even in cases where they were in opposition to individual interests and popular prejudices.

My attorney had mentioned to me several points which he

thought it advisable to have altered, but which he had vainly endeavoured to accomplish. For instance, the negroes were in the practice of bequeathing their houses and grounds, by which means some of them were become owners of several houses and numerous gardens in the village, while others with large families were either inadequately provided for, or not provided for at all. I directed that from henceforth no negro should possess more than one house, with a sufficient portion of ground for his family, and on the following Sunday the overseer by my order looked over the village, took from those who had too much and gave to those who had too little, and made an entire new distribution according to the most strict Agrarian law. Those who lost by this measure came the next day to complain to me; when I told them it had been done by my order, and explained the propriety of the proceeding; after which they declared themselves contented, and I never heard another murmur on the subject.

Again, mothers being allowed certain indulgences while suckling, persist in continuing the operation for two years and upwards, to the great detriment both of themselves and their children. Complaint of this being made to me, I sent for the mothers, and told them that every child must be sent to the weaning-house on the first day of the fifteenth month, but that their indulgences should be continued to the mothers for two months longer, although the children would be no longer with them. All who had children of that age immediately gave them up; the rest promised to do so when they should be old enough; and they all thanked me for the continuance of their indulgences, which they considered as a boon newly granted them.

On my return from Hordley, I was told that the negroes suffered their pigs to infest the works and grounds in the immediate vicinity of the house in such numbers, that they were become a perfect nuisance; nor could any remonstrance prevail on them to confine the animals within the village. An order was in consequence issued on a Saturday, that the first four pigs found rambling at large after two days should be put to death without mercy; and accordingly on Monday morning at the negro breakfast-hour, the head governor made his appearance before the house, armed cap-a-pee, with a lance in his hand and an enormous cutlass by his side. The news of this tremendous

apparition spread through the estate like wildfire. Immediately all was in an uproar; the negroes came pouring down from all quarters; in an instant the whole air was rent with noises of all kinds; men, women, and children shouting and bellowing, geese cackling, dogs barking, turkeys gobbling; and, look where you would, there was a negro running along as fast as he could, and dragging a pig along with him by one of the hind legs, while the pigs were all astonishment at this sudden attack, and called upon heaven and earth for commiseration and protection, —

> "With many a doleful grunt and piteous squeak,
> Poor pigs! as if their pretty hearts would break!"

From thenceforth not a pig except my own was to be seen about the place; yet instead of complaining of this restraint, several of the negroes came to assure me, that I might depend on the animals not being suffered to stray beyond the village for the future, and to thank me for having given them the warning two days before.

What other negroes may be, I will not pretend to guess; but I am certain that there cannot be more tractable or better disposed persons (take them for all in all) than my negroes of Cornwall. I only wish, that in my future dealings with white persons, whether *in* Jamaica or out of it, I could but meet with half so much gratitude, affection, and good-will.

THE END.

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